INNOCENT XI AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

BY

LOUIS O'BRIEN

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

Religious freedom is taken as a matter of course, nowadays, in most civilized countries. We have become so accustomed to it that we almost consider it a natural right. Too easily we forget that a great struggle has brought about this condition, and that it has been acquired only in quite recent times.

The progress of western nations from the system of religious unity, prevalent in the fifteenth century, to that of religious liberty, which is the rule today, has been slow and painful, illogical and wavering, generally dictated by political necessities, seldom inspired by deliberate conviction.

Along its course have been certain milestones (the Peace of Augsburg, the Edict of Nantes, the Peace of Westphalia, and the various acts of toleration sponsored by Lord Baltimore, Roger Williams, Frederick II, and Joseph II) which attract the attention of all interested in the spread of freedom.

We know that the movement toward religious liberty has not been a steady advance. Strenuous opposition has been encountered at every step, and there have been losses which, for a time, seemed to blot out the gains. Many writers name the papacy as the veritable rock on which this opposition was reared: all agree that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was a backward step in the march of progress.

So much has been said on the subject of the rescinding ordinance of Louis XIV that it would seem nothing remains to

be added. Yet the part played by the Holy See in that fateful event has never been clearly defined. Accordingly an attempt has been made to investigate this neglected detail in the history of toleration.

The basic materials for this work were gathered in the libraries and archives of Paris and Rome, particularly in the French Foreign Office and the Vatican. A brief discussion of the material used is contained in the bibliographical note.

To the archivists and librarians of the Foreign Office, the Catholic Institute, and the Protestant Historical Society in Paris, and of the Vatican, the Propaganda, and the Odescalchi collection in Rome, I gladly acknowledge my obligation for many helpful services generously rendered.

A very special debt of gratitude is due Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University under whose guidance the work was prepared and to whom I owe numerous valuable suggestions. I also take pleasure in thanking Professors Austin P. Evans and Charles Downer Hazen of Columbia University, Professor William Walker Rockwell of Union Theological Seminary, Professor Monroe E. Deutsch of the University of California, and Archbishop Edward J. Hanna of San Francisco, for their interest and counsel.

Louis O'Brien

3 February 1930
University of California

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INNOCENT XI AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

CHAPTER I

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

Out of the politico-religious strife which racked France during the second half of the sixteenth century came the Edict of Nantes. Imperfect as it was, that ordinance established a degree of religious toleration unknown since the triumph of Christianity in Europe, and placed France in the vanguard of the movement toward religious liberty. For eighty-seven years freedom of conscience was legal and Frenchmen were equal before the law, irrespective of their creed. To be sure Protestant public worship was not tolerated in many towns, Huguenot pastors were not permitted a free expression of opinion on controversial matters, and Calvinist books were not to be printed in other than Protestant centers. Yet even the restricted freedom of the Edict of Nantes was an advance over the more limited toleration which had been accorded to the German princes by the religious peace of Augsburg (1555), and it

represented a distinct advance over the narrow religious antagonism which until 1598 had been current in France and which was to dominate the internal policies of other European states for over a century to come. That the solution of the religious problem enacted by Henry IV was suggested rather by expediency than by any noble attachment to ideals of individual rights, the work of a politician rather than an enlightened philosopher, is apparent but does not destroy the credit due the first of the Bourbons.

While the various vicissitudes through which the famous edict passed will not be traced in detail, it seems advisable to allude briefly to its modification and the causes of its eventual abrogation.

The Edict of Nantes contained a defect which could not long be tolerated by a monarchy striving to be absolute in fact as well as in ideal, the right which permitted the Huguenots to garrison the fortified towns which they possessed in 1598. The retention of these strongholds was intended as a guarantee of good faith on the part of the king, a pledge that he would allow the Huguenots to defend themselves against hostile action by Catholic extremists; yet the Huguenot strongholds constituted a potential source of weakness to the crown, a state within a state, probable rallying points for possible civil wars. And although after the death

of Henry IV the regency which administered the affairs of the boy king, Louis XIII, confirmed the ordinance of 1598, declaring that its principles must be maintained inviolate, it soon became apparent that the political privileges of the Huguenots constituted a real source of danger to the realm. For this reason, especially, Richelieu decided to crush the Calvinists and deprive them of their unique position in the state. Having accomplished his purpose, the cardinal guaranteed the religious toleration inaugurated at Nantes, in the Edict of Nîmes, 1629. Throughout his administration Richelieu pursued a moderate and conciliatory policy toward the Protestants, respecting their rights and protecting their freedom. While in a certain sense the undermining of the Huguenots' political power was a first step in the direction of the revocation of the edict of 1598, it cannot be construed as an attack on religious liberty. Richelieu, as the exponent of French nationalism and absolutism, struck down an enemy of both at La Rochelle. That this suppression should lead eventually to a renewal of the religious persecution of the preceding century was at that time neither inevitable nor even probable. The great cardinal can hardly be held accountable for the calamitous intolerance of Louis XIV.

The reign of the Grand Monarch opened auspiciously for the Huguenots. One of the first acts of sovereignty performed in his name by the regents insured freedom of worship to the Protestants, confirming the Edict of Nantes. During the troubles of the Fronde the Huguenots were loyal to the crown, and Louis in 1652 showed his gratitude by publicly assuring them of his protection.

Jurieu, the Huguenot historian, assures us that the years of Mazarin's administration were among the happiest which his co-religionists could recall. When Louis assumed personal control of the state in 1661, it is not apparent that he was actuated by any other motive toward his dissenting subjects than that of his great minister. But this condition was not to endure. French Protestantism had numerous and powerful enemies, foremost among whom stood the clergy of the Gallican church.

Toleration of dissenters has never been graciously granted by an older faith and the church of France was no exception to this rule. It countenanced the Edict of Nantes because it was powerless to do otherwise, but members of the clergy were unrelenting in their verbal attacks on what they considered to be the worst possible evil. In 1651, bishop Choiseul of Comminges well represented the temper of his colleagues in addressing these words to his youthful sovereign: "We do not

ask that Your Majesty banish from the realm this unfortunate freedom of conscience which destroys the liberty of God's children, but if it is impossible for you to extinguish heresy at one stroke, at least do it little by little." Every five years the first estate assembled to discuss affairs of moment and to vote the crown a subsidy. In 1655 the clergy, at the instance of archbishop Gondrin of Reims demanded the strict enforcement of the articles of the edict. Mazarin paid little heed to the matter but in 1661 Louis responded favorably to a similar request, and from that date the spirit of religious toleration in France commenced to wane. To be sure the ordinance of 1598 remained on the statute books for the next twenty-four years but henceforth the letter of the law was to be enforced, and each successive assembly of the clergy managed to discover some new torment for the Huguenots. The king's willingness to "interpret" the edict meant success to the persecuting party. Every five years the crown was requested to concede the church certain new favors to the detriment of the Protestants. Always the letter of the edict was maintained while its intention was violated. The more successful the demands of the clergy were, the greater they became. Thus by 1680 the Huguenots had been excluded from all grades of the civil service, and the special courts created to protect their interests had been suppressed, many hundreds of their churches

had been levelled and most of their educational institutions destroyed.

In 1681 Louis XIV experienced that religious regeneration with which the name of madame de Maintenon is so closely associated and forthwith conditions for the Protestants changed for the worse. With the monarch's increased piety and new morality, he put more emphasis on religious considerations, and the clergy were quick to profit by the change. Many new encroachments on the privileges of the Huguenots were suggested. Life was made almost intolerable for them in France and an edict of 1682 forbade them under severe penalties to leave the kingdom. A royal fund had been established to recompense those who suffered financial loss through their abandonment of heresy. In the hands of over-enthusiastic administrators its application soon degenerated into a scandalous traffic in "conversions." It has been estimated that fifty-eight thousand so-called conversions were purchased prior to 1682.

About this time Louvois, the minister of war, inaugurated a practice designed to serve the double purpose of housing his troops and reducing the more obstinate Calvinists to the royal will. Detachments of dragoons, whence the name "dragonnades," were despatched to those districts where the Huguenots were most numerous, billeted on

the leading families and permitted to conduct themselves licentiously.[1] This abominable proceeding caused whole communities formally to abjure Protestantism in order to protect themselves from the most loathsome crimes. So great was the outcry against the dragonnades that the government was obliged to disclaim responsibility and they were abandoned for several years.

At its convocation in 1685 the Assembly of the Clergy formally requested His Most Christian Majesty to revoke the Edict of Nantes. The archbishop of Paris, presiding on this occasion, declared that the ordinance could no longer be considered a part of the fundamental law of the realm because of its numerous modifications and interpretations. To these remarks the bishop of Valence piously added: "We seek nothing except in the name and for the glory of God, and we address our appeal to a prince who can do anything he wills and who desires above all things the establishment of the reign of Jesus Christ."[2]

The Grand Monarch hesitated for a couple of months before completing the task toward which he had been slowly moving for so long. It was discussed in his "council of conscience" which included the intriguing Père de la Chaise, the

[1] It is not necessary to accept the accounts of the dragonnades written by Huguenots and their sympathizers; the Paris nunciature bore witness to severities committed by the militia, *vide infra* page 116.

[2] Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire générale,* VI, 296.

king's confessor, and the disreputable Harlay de Champvallon, archbishop of Paris. This body removed from Louis' mind any scruples as to his right to rescind a "perpetual" edict and Père de la Chaise assured his royal penitent that it would not cost a drop of blood. Every influence at court favored revocation. The king's advisers convinced him there were practically no Protestants left in France and that what few remained could be easily induced to forsake their faith. The accession of James II to the throne of England, eight months earlier, had removed the chief danger of foreign complications. Consequently on 18 October 1685 Louis XIV signed an edict abrogating those of Nantes and Nîmes, restoring the intolerance of the sixteenth century and depriving France of her position of enlightened leadership in the matter of religious freedom. To be sure the last article in the new ordinance declared that the few Protestants remaining in the realm would not be "troubled or hindered on the pretext of their religion;" but this clause remained a dead letter.

For the past two hundred years historians, apologists and controversialists have interested themselves in the multiplicity of causes which culminated in the revocation. Religious, political, social, personal and even economic motives have been adduced with varying degrees of plausibility to ac-

count for that unfortunate act.[3] No attempt will be made to evaluate their relative degrees of importance, but the chief contributing factors will be mentioned briefly.

As the would-be autocrat of the destinies of the French state Louis XIV could not look with favor upon any decentralizing force, any expression of opinion or belief differing from his own. The church of France was subservient to his wishes. Not only were his Catholic subjects bound to him in civic duty but by religious ties as well, for since he reigned by the grace of God, to oppose him was an offense against the church. The Huguenots, however, were outside the church. They could not be told what to believe by a clergy dominated by the Grand Monarch. Moreover their very existence, despite the king's avowed desire that all his subjects profess one creed, constituted a certain defiance of his will. Was it not natural that their patriotism should be suspected? They differed with their sovereign and this state of affairs was no longer to be tolerated. Uniformity is generally the price of absolutism. This mania for uniformity in all things had embroiled Louis in a terrific struggle with the papacy and it contributed in large part to the ruin of religious toleration.

[3] For an exposition of the economic motives see Thompson, "Some economic factors in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes," *American Historical Review,* vol. XIV.

Suspicion of the Huguenots' loyalty was fostered by the clergy, and the bigoted monarch was easily convinced that they constituted a menace to the tranquillity of his realm.

Abbé Le Gendre, secretary of the archbishop of Paris mentioned above as one of the king's chief advisers in matters of religion, expresses what was undoubtedly the court attitude regarding the Protestants whose "frequent revolts, seditious commerce with foreigners, conspiracies within the realm, audacity and cruelty demonstrated during past reigns, had determined His Majesty to ruin this sect from the commencement of his personal rule."[4] Untrue as this opinion was, it found none the less general acceptance, and more than one keen contemporary observer considered political motives rather than religious fervor to be the dominant cause of the revocation.

At one time madame de Maintenon was accorded a large share of responsibility for the act of 1685.[5] Her reputation has been fairly well cleared by her later biographers, and there is every reason to doubt whether she was other than a passive participant in the discussions which preceded the catastrophe. A convert herself, she could ill afford to

[4] Le Gendre, *Essai de l'histoire du règne de Louis le Grand,* 272.

[5] A modified form of the older opinion is expressed in Baird, *The Huguenots,* II, 19-25; while the more recent is advanced in Saint-René Taillandier, *Madame de Maintenon,* 131-151. For a full discussion of the subject see Rosset, *Mme. de Maintenon et la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes.*

champion the cause of her former co-religionists without being accused of sharing secretly their heretical opinions. Whatever may have been her connection with the abrogating edict, it has never been shown that she advocated or condoned the use of force.

The attitude of the two chief members of the council of conscience, the confessor and the archbishop, is better known. Both threw all their influence against the continuation of religious toleration. Neither de la Chaise nor Harlay de Champvallon was *persona grata* at Rome, the former because of his failure to champion the papal cause in the various disputes which arose between the king and the Holy See,[6] and the latter for his flagrant moral laxity and his suspected patriarchal ambitions. Consequently they urged their sovereign to strike a blow for orthodoxy and hoped thereby to silence opposition to themselves. Abbé Le Gendre refers to this in his *Mémoires* in speaking of the prelate: "The archbishop either out of devotion for the faith or to distract attention from the disagreements with Rome, redoubled his efforts for the revocation. When princes are in conflict with the Holy See they become more zealous for religion fearing that the people, seeing them em-

[6] *Vide infra* page 34.

broiled with the head of the church, may accuse them of lacking it."[7]

Doubtless the greatest personal factor was the king's susceptibility to flattery and his insatiable craving for fame. He had already been convinced, if conviction were necessary, that he was the bravest warrior, the ablest strategist, the cleverest diplomat, the wisest administrator and the most benificent monarch the world had seen. To consummate this splendor and render it incomparable the reign lacked only some great religious undertaking, the espousal of an ideal worthy of the Grand Monarch. The French church was at the zenith of her power, her clergy were distinguished by sincerity and learning, they regarded the Edict of Nantes as an insult and passionately desiring its withdrawal lost no opportunity to remind His Most Christian Majesty that toleration of heresy was unbecoming the "Eldest Son of the church." Louis was led to believe that he could restore religious unity in his realm, an act which would elevate him above Constantine, Theodosius and Charlemagne, which would be the greatest accomplishment of the age and redound to his glory forever.[8] This consideration weighed more with Louis XIV than any other

[7] Le Gendre, *Mémoires,* 63.

[8] Bossuet spoke of Louis in these terms several months after the revocation in the funeral oration of chancellor Le Tellier. Lavisse and Rambaud, *op. cit.,* VI, 300.

for it cannot be seriously maintained that he was ever actuated primarily by religious motives.

Many historians have claimed that another contributing cause of the attack on the Huguenots was the desire of the king to mollify the Vatican, from which he was estranged, and thus gain certain concessions which the pontiff had the power to bestow. In order more fully to appreciate the role which the papacy played in the revocation, it is necessary to consider the relation of Louis with the Holy See and in particular with pope Innocent XI, who occupied Peter's chair during the decade in which the Edict of Nantes was abrogated.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONS OF INNOCENT XI AND LOUIS XIV

Although it is entirely improbable that Louis XIV ever said *"L'Eglise, c'est moi,"* or even had such a thought, His Most Christian Majesty would have been as justified in this assertion as in its prototype, so popular with writers of text-books. For there was no more independence in the first estate than in the second or third during the reign of the Grand Monarch, when every institution, every order, every embodiment of the character and personality of the French people was subjected alike to the crown. Nor was the Holy See in any position effectively to contest the position of the king since a papal document, the concordat of Bologna, furnished one of the chief props on which the whole structure of royal control of the church was built. By this agreement the kings of France obtained the right to nominate to all vacant bishoprics, monasteries and priories in the realm; the pope, to be sure, could withhold confirmation from the crown's candidate but this was practically unheard-of. Furthermore the temporal power had other means by which it could hold the clergy in check. By his own authority the king could raise or lower ecclesiastical incomes as he pleased, exempting a prelate

from assessment by the Assembly of the Clergy or encumbering his income with pensions for whomsoever he named. He rewarded faithful service by appointment as abbot *in commendam* of some rich abbey, the incumbent of such an office having no duties and needing no qualifications. Thus by its control of clerical preferment did the crown insure the loyalty of its clergy whenever the relations between king and pope were strained. Still another element of strength on which the monarchy could rely was even more potent than those already mentioned, for it weakened the position of the pontiff among the churchmen where he naturally would have expected to find his greatest support; the allusion is to Gallicanism.

Gallicanism in the beginning was the religious expression of the early manifestations of French national consciousness. At a time when the idea of papal supremacy had not yet recovered from that series of blows which followed one another in rapid succession, the quarrel of Boniface VIII with Philip the Fair, the Babylonian Captivity, the great western schism, and the struggle with the reforming councils, the French church enjoyed an independence of action hitherto unknown. It is but natural that the papacy of the latter fifteenth century, fresh from its victory over the conciliar constitutionalism, should attempt to restore the "Gallican church" to its old position of dependence. So also

is it to be expected that the crown, jealous of outside interference, should protect the status recently acquired by the church of France. This union of crown and national clergy against the head of the universal church is the root of a series of conflicts between the French state and the Holy See which continued to break out from time to time until the final separation of the two powers.

Although officially discarded by Francis I in the concordat referred to above, and many times anathematized by the Holy See, the so-called "liberties of the Gallican church" continued to furnish the keynote of the religious policy of the French crown. By virtue of these "liberties" the king of France convoked assemblies representing his clergy to legislate for the "Gallican church;" permitted or withheld publication of papal bulls and encyclicals at will; forbade the pope's legates to enter or French prelates to leave the realm without his consent. In this way the disciplinary canons of the council of Trent had never been recognized in France and the pontifical authority had been reduced to a minimum. The two great cardinal ministers of the seventeenth century saw to it that no struggle between church and state arose during their administration; indeed, so well had they done their work that henceforth the spiritual and temporal powers were practically one with the king in complete control. Thereafter conflict might arise

between the crown and the papacy but the church of France could be relied upon to espouse the cause of its royal master. Such was the condition of affairs when Louis XIV attained his majority.

"Our prime object," the king later instructed his son, "must always be the preservation of our *gloire* and authority which only by unceasing effort can be maintained completely."[1] Louis had had an opportunity to demonstrate the meaning of this statement in 1662. Some of the retainers of the French ambassador at Rome, the duc de Créquy, became involved in a street brawl with members of the pope's Corsican guard and several lost their lives. The king considered it a splendid opportunity to humble the pontiff and thereby show himself to be the principal actor on the European stage. He demanded that the Holy Father make redress for the insult. When Alexander VII hesitated to accept responsibility for the affair, Louis seized Avignon, expelled the nuncio from Paris and finally brought the pope to terms by threatening armed invasion of Italy. The pontiff's humiliation was complete only after he had paid an indemnity, dismissed his secretary of state, disbanded the Corsican guard, and erected a pyramid in Rome commemorating the French triumph. Thus terminated the first disagreement between the king and the

[1] *Mémoires de Louis XIV,* II, 314.

Holy See. Nearly fifteen years elapsed before another pope caused him grievous displeasure.

From 1676 until 1689 Benedict Odescalchi occupied the papal see under the name of Innocent XI. The blamelessness of his private life is attested by the evidence submitted when his name was presented for beatification. The nobility of his character was reflected in the aims of his pontificate. He was a true reformer for he commenced at home by reducing the taxes as well as the debt, abolishing sinecures and more carefully supervising episcopal appointments—to mention but a few of his achievements. Contemporary writers, Protestant and Catholic alike, save for those who followed the behest of the Grand Monarch, were loud in their praise of him and historians generally have accepted the view that Innocent XI was worthy of the office he held. Even that ardent Gallican, abbé Le Gendre, was obliged to recognize his righteousness, love of justice, zeal for religion, loftiness of purpose and charity, although he could not resist the temptation to add: "qualities as noble as rare in a banker's son, which he was."[2] Ranke remarked that Innocent XI was impelled to fulfill the duties of his office with inflexible integrity by the same conscientiousness which governed his private life, while Macaulay aptly said of him: "In all private

[2] Le Gendre, *Mémoires*, 87.

relations the meekest and gentlest of men; when he spoke officially from the Chair of St. Peter, he spoke in the tones of Gregory the Seventh and Sixtus the Fifth." Odescalchi had been a cardinal for thirty years before his elevation to the papacy. His reputation was well known to Louis XIV and French influence had prevented his election in 1670.[3] Undoubtedly the same thing would have occurred six years later, had the French cardinals reached the conclave before the decision had been made. It requires no imaginative genius to realize that the Grand Monarch did not relish the thought of a firm and uncompromising pontiff who might find his path of duty to cross Louis' glory.

Any such misgivings on the part of the king were soon justified, for Innocent was scarcely enthroned before a conflict arose which was to continue unabated throughout his thirteen-year pontificate. As might be expected the question precipitating the struggle was one involving the authority of the crown. From earliest times the kings of France had claimed for themselves the right of disposing of the revenues of a bishopric when vacant, and of nominating to the benefices which depended upon it. This right was known as the *régale*. Far from being applicable to all the dioceses of the realm it was recognized only by certain churches.

[3] An account of the events which transpired at the conclave of 1670 is to be found in Gérin, *Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège*, II, 391-407.

The second oecumenical council of Lyons (1274) had taken cognizance of the matter deciding that although persons who already possessed the right were to continue its enjoyment, no extension of the *régale* was to be tolerated under penalty of excommunication. The obvious deduction from this canon is that the practice should not be applied where it did not already exist; in other words, it was to be deemed an exception to the general law of the church.

Until the seventeenth century this opinion was accepted by all; but now, under an absolute monarch who desired uniformity in all administrative matters, it was determined to enforce the *régale* in all parts of the kingdom. Edicts of 1673 and 1675 enacted this general application. So subservient was the church of France to its royal master that, with but two exceptions, the episcopate accepted without protest the declaration of the crown. François de Caulet, bishop of Pamiers, and Nicholas Pavillon, bishop of Alet, alone had the courage to resist the despoliation. The latter died in 1677 leaving de Caulet to carry on the struggle. The temporalities of the prelate were seized and he appealed to the pope. Enough has been said of Innocent XI to make it clear that he would hasten to the support of a brother bishop attacked by the rapacity of the secular power. The pontiff took

up the struggle, approved the stand made by de Caulet and Pavillon, and in 1678 addressed two briefs to Louis admonishing him to respect the prerogatives of the church. As no reply was forthcoming, he sent a third, two years later, reiterating his warnings and adding that "he would write no more but would make use of every weapon which God had placed in his hand." The king, in order to forestall further action on the part of the pope and also to demonstrate to His Holiness that the French church took its orders from Paris rather than from Rome, convened an assembly of the clergy and called upon it not only to advise him regarding the *régale* but also to delimit the relative spheres of influence of the spiritual and temporal powers.

The work of the famous Assembly of 1682 is too well known to require a detailed account.[4] The seventy-two bishops and priests representing the clergy of the realm not only determined to uphold the action of the crown on the first point but assured the sovereign that nothing should separate them from him, that the Holy See had entered upon a vain undertaking, and that "they wished the whole world to know their dispositions in this regard." Then turning its attention to a consideration

[4] A brief discussion of the work of the assembly will be found in *Cambridge Modern History,* V, chapter IV. A careful study is that of Gérin, *Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682.*

of the nature and extent of the papal power, the assembly embodied its decision in the "Declaration of the Clergy of France" which appeared on 19 March 1682. The document was substantially an exposition of the principles of Gallicanism, ideas which the popes had contested for the preceding two hundred and fifty years. Of the four articles which composed it, at least two dealt with dogmatic questions which could be settled only by an oecumenical council and were consequently beyond the jurisdiction of a national synod. In canon law, therefore, this act of the assembly was null and void, whether or not the doctrine conformed to the teaching of the universal church. Because of their importance a few words must be said regarding the nature of the four propositions.[5] The first stated that the temporal power was absolutely independent of the spiritual; consequently kings are in no manner subject to any ecclesiastical authority, directly or indirectly. The second upheld the supremacy of a general council over the pope by reaffirming the decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions of the council of Constance. The third article vaguely asserted that the apostolic power must be regulated by the canons "inspired by God and consecrated by universal respect, and also the rules, customs and constitutions recognized in the king-

[5] The full text of the four articles is reprinted in Latin and English in Darras, *General History of the Catholic Church,* IV, 362.

dom of France and in the Gallican church." And the fourth, aimed at papal infallibility, said: "Although the pope has the principal voice in matters of faith, and his decrees reach each and every church, yet his decisions are not irreformable unless confirmed by the consent of the church."

Louis was so pleased with the new declaration that he at once incorporated it in the public law by letters patent of 22 and 23 March. These regulations forbade all Frenchmen and foreigners resident in France to teach or write anything opposed to the doctrines enunciated in the four articles. Moreover it was required that henceforth all professors of theology in the realm should subscribe to the declaration before entering upon their duties, and candidates for degrees in divinity defend it in one of their theses. Innocent responded by addressing to those bishops who had participated in the assembly a brief wherein he abrogated everything they had done. The king ignored this act and continued to enforce his edicts. Through fear of provoking a schism in France the pontiff refrained from officially condemning the four propositions. At that time the doctrine of papal infallibility, although generally accepted by the church, was not dogma. Consequently the Gallican position was precariously tenable. Nevertheless to proscribe the ultramontane opinion in France was an affront to the Holy See. Although the pope did not openly

attack the declaration, he lost no opportunity to protest against it as the correspondence of the French ambassadors at Rome and the nuncios at Paris testifies. Nor was this the only manner in which the head of the church gave vent to his opposition to the four articles; when the crown nominated to vacant bishoprics priests who had participated in the Assembly of 1682 or subscribed to its declaration, Innocent refused to grant them canonical institution and the necessary bulls on the grounds that their doctrine was unsound. The king would name no others and by royal order forbade application to be made to the Roman curia for episcopal confirmation. As a result of this policy there were more than thirty-five vacant cathedral churches at the time of Innocent's death.

So much has been written about the Assembly of 1682 and the part which the pope played in that affair, and so little has been written about the relations of Louis XIV and Innocent XI after the subsidence of this exciting episode, that one might be led to believe that the king and the pope were on good terms at other times. No opinion could be more erroneous. Throughout the whole pontificate there was an unbroken sequence of disputes, nearly all of which arose from the same cause as the *régale* disagreement, the conflict of a nationalistic absolute state with a universal church anxious to maintain its inherited immunities, rights

and traditions. In a work of this nature it would be impossible to describe all of these quarrels, yet something must be said of the principal differences which marred Franco-Roman relations in the decade which saw the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; otherwise the pontiff's attitude toward that event cannot be seen in its proper setting. Inasmuch as most of the disputes overlap in point of time, it is impossible to discuss them chronologically; consequently they will be classified according to their nature, leaving to the last those which might be termed "external" from the French point of view, and proceeding first to the "internal" difficulties, or those which arose within the kingdom. These matters pertain to such questions as: disregard of papal authority in arbitrarily limiting the powers of a nuncio not even accredited to the court of Versailles; the suppression, against the pope's wishes, of a college and a congregation of nuns, both enjoying pontifical approbation; royal interference in conventual elections which were canonically immune; destruction of discipline in religious orders by the prohibition of ecclesiastical censure from any non-French source; the attitude of the king's confessor toward the pope; numerous petty insults offered Innocent XI and his representative in Paris.

By the treaty of Nimwegen France acquired certain parts of Alsace and Flanders hitherto be-

longing to the Spanish royal house. At once the question arose as to the authority of the crown over the church in these territories. An indult of Innocent XI, dated 20 May 1686, accorded Louis the right to nominate to the bishoprics of Ypres and St. Omer and to the abbeys and other benefices of the ceded lands. Yet no provision was made to withdraw this territory from the jurisdiction of the nuncio at Lucerne. For many reasons it was desirable that this condition be rectified, and international courtesy demanded that the king request the Holy See to accomplish this, but apparently the *gloire* of the Grand Monarch suggested otherwise. On 30 July 1686, the pontiff sent a memorial to Louis complaining that Louvois had ordered the royal procurator of Brisac, by public edict, to prohibit the inhabitants of the province from having any dealings whatsoever or obeying any orders of the Lucerne nuncio on the ground that "Frenchmen neither recognize nor are subject to any foreign tribunal." The publication of this decree, the protest concludes, was felt by His Holiness to scandalize the people and destroy the respect due both himself and the nunciature in question.[6] Louis ignored the remonstrance and informed his ambassador at Rome, the duc d'Estrées, that his brother, cardinal d'Estrées, had done everything possible to demonstrate to the papal court that no reason

[6] *Correspondance de Rome,* 301, f. 169.

existed for the displeasure of the pope at the action of the crown. That Innocent was greatly angered at the procedure adopted, is clearly indicated in despatches of 27 August from both duke and cardinal, stating not only that the pope had been indignant at the treatment accorded one of his ministers, but that he had contemplated proceeding to "extreme measures" against those responsible. Threats availed no more than complaints; on 13 September word was sent to cardinal d'Estrées that the matter was closed and three days later the nuncio at Paris, monsignore Ranuzzi, admitted the cause lost when he reported an audience with the king to cardinal Cybo, the papal secretary of state: "His Majesty expressed himself as having no cause for complaint against the nuncio (at Lucerne); yet, notwithstanding my spirited efforts to demonstrate to him the seriousness of such innovations, it was impossible to persuade him to revoke the aforementioned edict."[7]

Meanwhile another disagreement had broken out. In Toulouse was situated the College of St. Martial, a pontifical foundation created in 1359 by Innocent VI under joint protection of popes and kings of France. During the three hundred years of its existence the college had acquired privileges, lands and wealth. Now the archbishop of Toulouse proposed to unite St. Martial with his semi-

[7] 16 September 1686. *Nunziatura di Francia*, 175, f. 614.

nary and sought royal letters patent for the consummation of his plan. The seminary was in charge of the Jesuits, and Père de la Chaise ardently pressed the petition of the archbishop. The nuncio protested, in the name of the papal prerogative, and although he succeeded in preventing the suppression of the college, he was unable to hinder the Jesuits from being granted part of its building to house their institution.

Simultaneously an even greater encroachment upon the rights of the pope occurred, and this too in Toulouse. A congregation of nuns, *les Filles de l'Enfance de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ,* which had been founded in 1662 with the approval of the Holy See, was disbanded by a royal decree of 12 May 1686. This order pertained only to the temporal aspects of the community and it remained for the various bishops to execute the spiritual dissolution of the organization. When the archbishop of Toulouse issued an ordinance for this purpose, the nuns appealed to the pope as the only authority in the church capable of dispensing them from the religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience which they had taken. The Holy Father was greatly perturbed and directed his Paris representative to tell the king "that he is deceived by his ministers who, with their bad counsels, lead him to meddle in sacred matters, and to arrogate to himself that power which has been reserved by

Jesus Christ to his Vicar."[8] Ranuzzi carried out his orders, but with no more success than usual, for on 16 September he reported his protests of no avail. The pope, unable to get any satisfaction from the court, addressed a brief to the archbishop, whom he had excommunicated seven years before, in connection with the *régale* dispute, beseeching him to mend his ways and repair the damage he had done the oppressed community. Even here Innocent's plans were thwarted, for the refractory prelate died before the arrival of the pontifical epistle.[9]

Another source of conflict between king and pope mentioned above was said to be the interference of the crown in monastic elections. Certain convents, which had enjoyed freedom from secular control prior to the French occupation of Alsace, attempted to maintain their independence. To be sure, canon law definitely proscribed lay intervention in such elections save where explicitly accorded by papal indult. Nevertheless the crown saw fit to instruct the Benedictines of the Monastery of Ottmarsheim to elect three candidates from among whom the king would choose them an abbess. On 25 March 1686, the nuncio reported this to Rome and complained to Colbert de Croissy,

[8] 16 July 1686.

[9] An interesting account of this affair, with the relevant documents, is contained in *L'Innocence opprimée,* an anonymous work attributed to Antoine Arnauld.

minister of foreign affairs, and Père de la Chaise. During the next month his despatches from Paris continue to relate his remonstrances, but on 20 May the long-suffering diplomat admitted another defeat in describing his most recent interviews with the minister and the confessor. After stating that he had summarized all the possible arguments to demonstrate the lack on the part of the crown of any right to do what had been done, Ranuzzi concludes: "But all this has not sufficed to dissuade them from their opinions or to give me any hope that they will induce the king to hear me anew, with greater success than before."

While the nuns of Ottmarsheim were having their difficulties with the Grand Monarch, a similar affair was in progress with the monks of Morbach. The nuncio at Lucerne, it was in this connection that he first raised the question of his jurisdiction, reported the proceedings in the following manner: On the death of Felix von Fürstemberg, abbot commendatory, monsieur de Monclar, the governor of Alsace, accompanied by the intendant, went to the monastery and read a royal letter instructing the chapter to select three candidates for the vacancy from among whom the crown would designate the abbot. They were likewise required to include the name of count Philip von Levenstein among their nominees. The monks saw through the scheme and refused to follow the

orders of the king, although they agreed to postulate the count if the Holy See would consent. The intendant, ignoring the facts, informed the court that three candidates had been named, among them von Levenstein. The nuncio at Paris complained to the king, and cardinal d'Estrées hastened to inform his royal master from what source the information had reached Rome. Louis replied on 17 May that there was nothing unusual about the Morbach case and therefore no ground for complaint; moreover, he added: "the nuncio at Lucerne deserved a severe reprimand from His Holiness for all he had so rashly and unreasonably written on the subject." Since the monks refused to receive the count as abbot, he was forcibly installed by royal officials under orders from the Parlement of Brisac. Innocent continued to refuse to recognize him and instructed the nuncio at Cologne to consider him as excommunicate and deprived of his ecclesiastical offices in Germany.[10]

Still another aspect of the ill will existing between France and the Holy See, as a result of the domination of the church by the crown, is furnished in the Père Noël Alexandre episode. Père Alexandre was a Dominican who had written extensively on ecclesiastical history and had voiced the anti-papal sentiments of the Assembly of 1682.

[10] 12 June 1688. *Nunziatura di Colonia*, 60. f. 28.
26 June 1688. *ibid.*, 60, f, 30.
24 July 1688. *ibid.*, 60, f, 32.

His works were placed on the Roman Index of prohibited books and the father general of the order instructed the prior of the Paris Dominicans to deprive Alexandre of his vote in chapter, and to degrade him from his doctorate, rank, offices and privileges. The prior wrote his superior that the commands could not be enforced without royal consent. Thereupon the nuncio reiterated the demands of Rome to no avail. The matter in some way attracted the attention of the Parlement of Paris, which, on 23 August 1685, suppressed the instructions of the general and henceforth prohibited all religious whose superiors resided outside the realm from executing any of their decrees or orders without royal letters patent registered in the Parlement of Paris. Furthermore, the nuncio was warned not to attempt to perform any function not pertaining to a resident ambassador. Thus was the whole disciplinary system of the greater religious congregations subordinated entirely and officially to the nationalistic absolutism of Louis XIV.

There were several occasions during the last half of Innocent's reign when the pontiff was subjected to petty insults at the hands of the French court. For example, on 17 September 1685, several theses based on the Gallican articles of 1682 were affixed to the gate of the apostolic nunciature in Paris. When monsignore Ranuzzi protested, he was given no satisfaction. About the same time

the cardinal of Boulogne was exiled from Versailles and the nuncio complained of too little respect being shown to the wearer of the purple. Whereupon monsieur de Croissy and Père de la Chaise informed him in no uncertain terms that the king could dismiss from court whosoever displeased him, and moreover that he could imprison any of his subjects without accounting for his actions to anyone. On 11 March 1686 the nuncio described to Rome a new monument under construction in the *Place de la Victoire,* which was to carry a medallion commemorating the humiliation of the papacy, in the person of Alexander VII, at the time of the Corsican guard affair. Cardinal Cybo replied on 23 April that the intended inscription for the monument was most injurious to the Holy See and that a protest would be made. Cardinal d'Estrées likewise reported the sensitiveness of the pope on this point, and said he understood that the nuncio had been instructed to complain, adding: "The most agreeable news the Vatican could receive would be word that the inscription had been modified." Ranuzzi made his protest and was able to report on 27 May that de la Chaise had informed him of His Majesty's statement that nothing offensive to the Holy See would appear on the monument. At no other time during his pontificate was Innocent able to get any satisfaction from

Versailles, and it could not be maintained that this matter was of great importance.

One of the more obscure aspects of the relations between Louis XIV and Innocent XI is the role played by Père de la Chaise. Little has been written concerning that influential cleric, but there can be no doubt of the opinion of the pope in regard to him. Whenever pontiff and king became mutually interested in a problem, the confessor was involved, sooner or later. Père de la Chaise was a Gallican; he had sympathized entirely with the work of the Assembly of 1682 and always upheld the monarchical as against the papal power. To Innocent this was particularly objectionable in that the confessor, as a Jesuit, should have been exceptionally zealous in supporting the claims of Rome. When the nuncio indicated to de la Chaise his duty of dissuading the king from interfering in the Ottmarsheim election, the priest replied "not without perturbation, that he did not consider the king to have exceeded his rights, or that he himself had any duty before God in the matter."[11] Regarding the union of the College of St. Martial with the archiepiscopal seminary of Toulouse, the Jesuit was even more outspoken in his defiance of the wishes of the pope, telling monsignore Ranuzzi he did not wish to hear any more about them; furthermore that His Majesty had followed the sage advice of

[11] 25 May 1686. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 172A, f. 475.

persons well qualified in ecclesiastical and theological matters and that he neither could nor desired to interfere.[12] On receipt of this news at Rome, Innocent ordered his nuncio to have no more dealings with the confessor, but Ranuzzi was more diplomatic than his master and replied to the cardinal secretary of state, he had not found it expedient to carry out the instructions of the pope since de la Chaise was at least more tractable than the other ministers and "consequently to break with him would be to forego assistance which is forthcoming at least on some occasions."

Apparently Innocent made no effort to conceal his annoyance at the attitude of the confessor, for cardinal d'Estrées frequently mentions evidences of it. On 20 August 1686 he reported the anger of the Holy Father at Père de la Chaise for refusing to assist the nuncio at Lucerne when his authority in Alsace was abrogated by the crown; and again, sometime later, in relating an audience granted an Italian Jesuit by the pontiff, the cardinal asserted that the pope blamed the confessor for upholding the monarch in defying his authority and added: "We cannot doubt it since our nuncio writes it." Cardinal d'Estrées slyly concludes: "If this minister wished to be considered among the friends of

[12] 1 July 1686.

Père de la Chaise, it must be admitted that on this occasion he had done him a bad turn."[13]

Nor did the confessor entertain friendly feelings toward the pope. There is evidence of at least one attempt, on the part of de la Chaise, to discredit the orthodoxy of the head of the church. The French Jesuits were inclined to be more Catholic than Rome when it was a case of extirpating Jansenism, and even the supreme pontiff was not above suspicion. In the archives of the French Foreign Office is to be found an interesting memorial, entitled *By Reverend Father de la Chaise to prove that Innocent XI is a Jansenist.*[14] This document was probably composed during the intense conflict which raged between Versailles and Rome in the year 1688, and in all likelihood has some connection with a similar charge made by advocate general Talon in the *plaidoyer* to which reference is made below. In any case, whether or not the Vatican attributed this crowning insult directly to Père de la Chaise, it held the court responsible, for on 2 February the nuncio reported the claim made by the friends of Talon that his most objectionable statements had been neither composed nor written by him, "but had been added by those who had been charged to read the

[13] 29 April 1687. *Correspondance de Rome,* 303, f. 399.
[14] *Correspondance de Rome,* 297, f. 315.

harangue and accommodate it to the sentiments of the court."[15] That the enmity between Innocent XI and the king's spiritual adviser would not contribute to the amicable relations of the two courts is apparent.

The pope was further aroused against the Eldest Son of the church for the latter's attitude toward the Turkish war, which was then in progress. In the spring of 1683 the sultan, determining to profit by the offer of the emperor's rebellious Hungarian subjects to place their country under Ottoman suzerainty, declared war on the empire and prepared to march on Vienna. Emperor Leopold appealed to all Christian princes to unite against the common foe. His Most Christian Majesty sneered that Crusades had been out of fashion since the days of his sainted ancestor and inwardly rejoiced at the plight of the Hapsburg ruler. Innocent XI, on the other hand, exhorted the Catholic princes to follow the emperor to battle and himself sent vast sums of money to aid the Christian cause. The Grand Monarch not only ignored the plea of the pope, but endeavored, through his envoy at Warsaw, to induce John Sobiesky, the king of

[15] That the king approved the speech before it was delivered is more than likely; a memoir addressed to the procurator general, dated 13 January, instructed him as follows: "When *Mrs. les gens du Roi* have decided what they wish to propose to the parlement, they will place their discourse in His Majesty's hands and he will afterwards make known to them his intentions." *Correspondance de Rome*, 309, f. 297.

Poland, to do likewise. The Pole heeded the pontiff and dismissed the French minister, but Louis did not change his policy. Innocent's insistent appeals for aid were always answered by excuses. Even the complaint of the nuncio that French and English vessels were employed in the service of the Turks to transport grain, rice, munitions of war and troops, was given scant attention. Monsieur de Croissy informed him hypocritically: "It is not wished to interrupt commerce, nor to prohibit the transportation of grain and food from one unfortified place to another."[16] Since Innocent XI was as much carried away by this war as had been his twelfth and thirteenth century predecessors by the Crusades, it would have been difficult for him to have forgiven the king of France, had that monarch shown no interest in the struggle; consequently his chagrin at the policy which Louis XIV did pursue was boundless.

Enough has been said of the relations of France and the Holy See, during the decade of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to convey an idea of their unfriendliness; during the last two years of the pontificate in question an open break was chronically imminent. In this period the strain caused by all the previous dissension was increased by the struggles over the "franchises" and the Cologne

[16] 17 November 1687. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 176, f. 579.

election. As the outbreak of the former antedated that of the latter, it will be given first attention.

By the term "franchises" are understood certain claims to extra-territoriality made by the resident ambassadors in Rome in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These claims had their genesis in the right of asylum and immunity enjoyed by all embassies, but they had been extended beyond their original and natural limits, the residence of the envoy, to include the whole district or quarter in which the ambassadorial palace was located. No papal police official or tax collector was permitted to enter these quarters and they thereby became "safety zones" for all the rascals and scoundrels of Rome, receiving stations for contraband goods and bases for further illicit operations. To such an extent had the franchises been enlarged that scarcely a street remained in Rome where the pontifical officers dared enter, and the impost duties brought in almost no revenue. It was said that on the accession of Innocent XI more than half of populated Rome was included in the areas set apart by the ambassadors. Several popes had issued edicts to suppress this nuisance, but the envoys had ignored them and had been able to maintain their claims by force. Innocent was determined to eradicate this abuse, but he did not intend to antagonize any of the European princes in so doing. Consequently he decided upon the

policy of suppressing the franchise of each embassy on the expiration of the term of the incumbent, and announced that although he would not attempt to change the conditions to which the ambassadors already in Rome were accustomed, in future he would receive no envoy until he had renounced his claims to the contested right. At first this innovation met some opposition; the court of Spain, rather than submit, for some time refused to send an ambassador to Rome; the Republic of Venice recalled its representative when, on his refusal to make the required renunciation, the pope declined to grant him an audience. However by 1687, the emperor, the republic, and the kings of Spain, Poland, Portugal and England (James II) had acceded to the wishes of the pontiff; in fact, there were only two courts which maintained their prerogative, that of the Grand Monarch and that of queen Christina of Sweden. Inasmuch as the latter was located in Rome itself, there was more justice to her claim than to the claim of the French ambassador.

On 30 January 1687 the duc d'Estrées departed this life, and on the same day cardinal Cybo notified the nuncio at Paris that the Holy Father would receive no other French ambassador until His Most Christian Majesty agreed to forswear the franchises as other princes had done. When Ranuzzi delivered this message to the king he received the famous reply: "I have never regulated my actions

by those of others; God has placed me here to give example, not to receive it." Louis was true to his word, for he at once appointed Henri Charles de Beaumanoir, marquis de Lavardin, to fill the vacant post and instructed him to disregard the regulations of the pope and to maintain the claims without any restriction. The question might be asked why the king was so adamant in his refusal to satisfy what was obviously a just demand on the part of the sovereign pontiff. The answer was apparent enough to the nuncio, who notified the cardinal secretary of state on 7 April, that the French court intended to open negotiations in order to get some return for its surrender of the right of franchises. "Moreover," Ranuzzi continued, "the court seeing the concession to be of no consequence to the crown, while of greatest moment to His Holiness, intends to sell it as dearly as possible by demanding in return a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Beauvais, provision of the vacant episcopal sees, the *régale,* and anything else which can be obtained."[17]

Meanwhile the Vatican had induced the queen of Sweden to forego her claims and thus cleared the way for the publication of a bull prohibiting franchises. This document had been drawn up in the early days of the pontificate of Innocent XI but its promulgation had been purposely withheld until a more propitious time. The opportunity

[17] *Nunziatura di Francia,* 177, f. 149.

was now at hand, and on 16 May appeared in Rome the ordinance which henceforth abolished the nuisance under penalty of major excommunication *ipso facto* for whosoever should claim the old right. Such was the reply of the pope to the court which wished to negotiate the matter. The bull was signed by all the cardinals in curia save d'Estrées and Maldachino, notoriously under obligation to the Grand Monarch.

Louis temporized for several months, hoping that the pontiff would modify his stand, but when it finally became apparent that this was extremely unlikely, the new ambassador received orders to proceed to the Eternal City. As the marquis made the journey by land, he was obliged to enter the states of the church some distance north of Rome. His progress from the frontier to that city was marked by the absence of any demonstrations of welcome, for the pope had forbidden his officials to take notice of the ambassador. On 16 November the new envoy entered Rome at the head of a considerable force of armed men. No honors attended the arrival and the members of the sacred college were instructed to ignore Lavardin. He formally demanded an audience to present his credentials and was refused. Nevertheless he established his residence at the Farnese palace, the home of the French embassy. On Christmas eve the ambassador attended midnight mass in state at San Luigi

degli Francesi, the French national church, and communicated. As a result, the church was placed under interdict. Whereupon Lavardin on 27 December published a protest against the action of the Holy Father and sent it to all the cardinals and ambassadors in Rome, and all the princes of Italy. Moreover, Louis, unable to endure this latest affront, ordered the Parlement of Paris to consider the question of the franchises and the measures taken by the pontiff. On 22 January 1688 the procurator general, monsieur de Harlay, issued an *appel comme d'abus* not only against the sentence of the cardinal vicar interdicting San Luigi, but also against the bull of May previous.

The right of appeal from a papal decision to a future council is one of the cardinal principles of Gallicanism and is perfectly logical if the premise be granted that a general council is superior to the pope.[18] Obnoxious as was that opinion to the Roman curia, it will be recalled that it had been embodied in the civil law of France by the registration of the four articles of 1682. The present appeal was established on the grounds that the Holy See did not possess the right to excommunicate a French ambassador; here again the legal basis was to be found in the declaration of 1682.

[18] Pius II, in his Bull *Execrabilis et in pristinis temporibus inauditus* (18 January 1460), had condemned as heretical the doctrine of conciliar supremacy and had anathematized anyone who should dare to appeal from a papal decision to a general council.

Not only was the Vatican antagonized by the appeal itself; the manner in which it was made was no less objectionable. The procurator general added insult to injury when he referred to the actions of Innocent XI as "a sign of mental aberration in the pope" and attributed them "to old age, which has weakened his powers"! Nor was this sufficient. Advocate general Talon, in presenting Harlay's appeal to the Parlement of Paris, made a long discourse in favor of its registration wherein he exceeded all bounds of courtesy and filial respect in denouncing the Holy Father. What Rome thought of the conduct of the parlement and its officers is stated emphatically in two despatches from cardinal Cybo. The first, dated 17 February and addressed to Ranuzzi, refers to Talon's "villainous, calumnious and blasphemous declamation" and Harlay's "impious appeal;" and the second, four days later, to the nuncio in London, says: "Your Excellency by now will have seen the new monstrosities committed to the boundless scandal and horror of all by the Parlement of Paris, the advocate, and the procurator general of the king. Their language, full of poison, rancor and blasphemy against the Vicar of Christ, actually lacks that decency which should be maintained among princes even in time of war."[19]

[19] 21 February 1688. *Nunziatura d'Inghilterra,* 15, f. 24.

The curia did not restrict itself to these private expressions of reprobation with regard to the harangue of the advocate general, for cardinal d'Estrées on 6 July sent Louis XIV a declaration of the Holy Office condemning eighteen propositions contained therein as false, rash, tending toward schism, suspected of heresy, scandalous, shocking to pious ears, injurious to the pope, and destructive of ecclesiastical discipline. But His Most Christian Majesty took no notice of the sentence nor did the pontiff press the matter further, since a new disagreement loomed large in the attention of both, and intensified the existing delicate relations—namely, the election of a successor to prince Maximilian Henry of Bavaria, archbishop-elector of Cologne, who had died in June.

In order better to understand the rather complicated ramifications of this matter, it is necessary to digress and to consider briefly the conditions under which one could canonically claim the succession to this important position. Throughout the empire the same general rule applied, namely, that possession of a bishopric was obtained either by "natural election" or by "postulation" of the cathedral chapter. In order to be eligible to election the candidate must possess all the requisite qualifications; that is, he must be of German nationality; of canonical age, at least twenty-one; must be a canon of the cathedral chapter in ques-

tion, and must not possess any other benefice. When these stipulations could be met, it sufficed to obtain a majority of the votes of the chapter to secure "natural election," after which the confirmation of the pope and the investiture of the emperor were to be secured before the bishop-elect could be consecrated. If a candidate lacked any of the necessary qualifications but was able to muster two-thirds of the votes, his nomination was legitimate and was termed "postulation," rather than "election." The pope and the emperor were obliged by concordat to grant confirmation and investiture if the subject were either canonically elected or postulated.

There were two aspirants for the vacant see, cardinal von Fürstemberg, bishop of Strasbourg, and prince Clement of Bavaria, bishop-designate of Ratisbon and Freising. The cardinal had all the qualifications, except freedom from possessing other benefices, while the prince was not only restrained on that ground but likewise in that he was not a canon of Cologne, nor was he of requisite age, counting merely seventeen years. It is to be recalled, however, that much more was at stake in this matter than an ecclesiastical office. The archbishop of Cologne not only enjoyed distinction as an imperial elector, but was himself a temporal ruler. His extensive dominions included several strong fortresses on the Rhine. In time of war he

could place twenty thousand men in the field. Consequently it is not surprising that Louis XIV had a candidate for the position, who was none other than the above mentioned cardinal.

There were numerous reasons why von Fürstemberg was objectionable both to the Germans and to the pope. In the first place he was known to serve the court of France heart and soul. Furthermore, as bishop of Strasbourg, he had not only failed to oppose the French occupation of that city, but had been a party to the nefarious dealings which accomplished it. In so doing he had betrayed his trust to the empire and won the epithet of "traitor" throughout Germany. He had consistently shown himself hostile to the curia. Even the private life of the cardinal was reputed to be unsavory. Innocent, very reluctantly, had elevated him to the purple and then only as the smaller evil in response to the incessant demands of Louis in favor of two unworthy ecclesiastics. Fürstemberg had refused to reside in his episcopal see. It was known that he had been notoriously dishonest in acquiring the position of coadjutor to the late archbishop of Cologne. On the other hand, Clement was a member of the Bavarian house which had been in control of the electorate of Cologne for over a hundred years. He was a brother of Max Emanuel II of Bavaria, who had been brilliantly successful in the war against the Turks, and a brother-in-law of the

dauphin; because of this relationship Innocent hoped the opposition to his candidacy would be weakened. Only his youth seemed against him; yet in the seventeenth century this was by no means an insurmountable obstacle. Prince Clement had the support of the emperor and of all who were not under obligation to the king or were not intimidated by him. That there were barriers to the eligibility of each candidate has been shown; both appealed to the Holy See for bulls dispensing them of the necessity of meeting the qualifications.

The pope was cajoled and threatened by emperor and king alike, each in behalf of his protégé. His position was a most delicate one, yet he conducted himself with that same impartial attitude which characterized the whole pontificate. Free from personal and political animus, it was the vigorous spiritual father of Christendom rather than a worldly statesman who made the decision to remain neutral, to leave to the chapter of Cologne a free hand in the election, and to refuse to be intimidated by either the Eldest Son of the church or by His Imperial Apostolic Majesty. Since the cardinal was known to control more than half of the votes, to have granted him the requested dispensation would have been to insure his election, while to refuse it to Clement would have wrecked his hopes. Consequently Innocent, considering the request on its merits, acceded to the demands of

Leopold and the Bavarian elector, granting the bulls of eligibility to the young prince. On 26 June cardinal Cybo informed monsignore Visconti, the nuncio at Cologne, of this decision, warned him to refrain from becoming involved in the election and concluded: "It is apparent that the emperor must consider and participate in the affairs of the empire, but it is impossible to comprehend with what justice the Most Christian King pretends to meddle therein while never tolerating the interference of either emperor or any other prince in the provision of the bishoprics or estates of his realm."[20] When Louis saw his candidate to be at a disadvantage, he hastened to counteract Innocent's move by sending troops to the frontier, ostensibly to safeguard the chapter's freedom of election. Visconti reported Fürstemberg as instructing him to assure His Holiness "that the king of France would not permit his soldiers to disturb the peace unless the troops of some other prince took the field in this regard."

On 19 July the election took place. Neither did Clement receive the necessary majority for his election, nor von Fürstemberg the two-thirds for postulation; this incapacitated the cathedral chapter from choosing an archbishop and accorded the right, by canon law, to the Holy See. Louis and the emperor renewed their efforts. Each made a

[20] *Nunziatura di Colonia*, 60, f. 31.

threat of war if his candidate were unsuccessful. Innocent sought to temporize. He appointed a commission of cardinals to consider all phases of the question. When it became apparent to the Grand Monarch that an adverse decision was to be rendered, he determined to break with the Vatican. On 6 September His Most Christian Majesty addressed a manifesto to the pope and to the sacred college in which he recounted all the injuries his crown had received from the Holy See, and closed with the statement that to obtain the justice and enforce the respect due him, he would seize the city of Avignon, intervene in Cologne, and invade Italy.

Simultaneously the procurator general issued an appeal to the next oecumenical council against any action which the pope might take to the detriment of the crown. On 30 September the archbishops and bishops then at court were assembled and addressed by His Grace of Paris in these terms: "The king's most faithful servants are now convinced that our Holy Father has exhausted His Majesty's patience and that he sympathizes entirely with the worst enemies of the crown. For this reason His Majesty has ordered cardinal d'Estrées in Rome, and has permitted the procurator general of the parlement here, to issue an appeal to the next general council against past and future grievances of this pontificate . . . Thus, My Lords,

should His Holiness be so carried away by his prejudices as to employ the spiritual arms of the church to the injury of the subjects and estates of His Majesty, this act of the procurator general would nullify all the ecclesiastical censures of a pope irritated against France. The appeal to a future council, which, according to our fundamental maxims, is recognized to be superior to every position and individual in the church, without excepting any, not even the pope, suspends or invalidates all the effects of his ill-will." The archbishop concluded his discourse by saying that the king had no doubt but that his bishops would welcome this sage precaution, and for them it remained only in their own dioceses to make known "the prudence and moderation of his conduct."[21] Cardinal d'Estrées informed Louis on 16 October that the appeal had been translated into Italian and had been posted all over Rome, even on the very doors of St. Peter's!

Royal troops had entered the Comtat-Venaissin and occupied Avignon on 7 October. When the pope heard of this unfriendly act he recalled his nuncio from Paris, but the king refused to permit him to depart, keeping him under surveillance to prevent his escape. Cardinal d'Estrées was told that His Majesty would continue to recognize Ranuzzi as papal minister until he saw fit to grant him an audience of leave and that the person of

[21] The text of the archbishop's discourse is preserved in the *Correspondance de Rome*, 320, f. 134.

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the nuncio would be responsible for anything that might happen to the marquis de Lavardin or himself.

The invasion of Italy was now prepared on a large scale in conjunction with the northern attack on the imperial forces, and the pope, seeking some form of accommodation which would not necessitate the sacrifice of his principles, opened negotiations with d'Estrées. This prelate was informed by his sovereign on 14 December that the Vatican must come to terms by 12 January as the invasion could not be postponed beyond that date. But an unforeseen turn of events in the north saved Italy. On 20 January Louis sent word to the cardinal that he could not spare any of his forces in the south for the time being. Yet His Majesty intended later to turn his attention in this direction for he assured d'Estrées: "It should be easy on the close of the present campaign to render the Vatican more reasonable than it has been heretofore and to furnish posterity a brilliant example of the interest which papal nephews and relatives have in conducting themselves more favorably toward my crown."

There was no improvement in the Franco-Roman relations during the remaining months of this pontificate. The Grand Monarch was too much occupied with the war of the league of Augsburg, now assuming alarming proportions, to carry out his threats against Rome. On the other

hand the pope sympathized openly with the imperial party and was suspected of being actually a member of the alliance. In April the marquis de Lavardin retired from Rome after waiting eighteen months for an audience. At the same time Louis officially severed all connection with the Holy See by withdrawing from cardinal d'Estrées his function as chargé d'affaires of France and permitting Ranuzzi to leave Paris.

Innocent XI died on 12 August 1689. The relations between France and the Holy See were worse then than they had been since the concordat of Bologna. There was neither nuncio at Paris nor ambassador at Rome. Forty-one bishoprics in the kingdom lacked consecrated pastors. Avignon was in the hands of a French garrison. Gallicanism had never been stronger; there was talk of the establishment of a patriarchate of Paris and secession from Rome. The pope was held up to general ridicule by the humorists and playwrights sponsored by the court. He was regarded as the arch-enemy of France and his passing was hailed as a relief. Even in death did the persecution continue, for French influence ever since has opposed his beatification.

CHAPTER III

INNOCENT'S NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE REVOCATION

In considering the attitude of Innocent XI toward the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the question arises whether or not the pope shares any of the responsibility for the revocation itself. Had he been involved Innocent must have known the king's intention and must have advised or assisted its consummation. Anything in the nature of a concession made contingent on the abrogation would constitute direct responsibility. On the other hand if the pontiff had not been cognizant of any intention to rescind the ordinance, and learned of it only after its accomplishment, he could in no wise be held directly culpable. Yet this would not necessarily exonerate him from all blame, for he might still be indirectly responsible. If, for example, his commendation of Louis' efforts to convert the Huguenots induced the king to make the fatal blunder, Innocent might be said to have contributed indirectly to the royal policy. In the same way, but with less justification, the pope could be implicated if the Grand Monarch revoked the edict in the hope of gaining some papal concession, even without the connivance of the Vatican.

In his voluminous work, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI,* Emile Michaud seeks to sustain the thesis that the Protestants were attacked to conciliate the Holy See.[1] He points to the king's desire for certain favors from the Vatican and suggests, as the surest means for their attainment, an assault on Rome's enemies, Gallicanism, Jansenism and Calvinism. As it served the interests of the crown to protect the first, the measures adopted against the other two must be all the more strenuous. This contention seems reasonable on considering the delicate relations which existed between Versailles and the papacy after the 1682 Assembly of the Clergy. Already there were several vacant bishoprics, and in view of the prevailing deadlock that number was bound to increase. The pope had steadily refused to recognize the *régale.* Gallican theological principles were upheld in France although the curia considered them almost schismatical. That an open rupture had been averted was due to Innocent's forbearance and the opposition of Louis to a complete break. The king sought to divert the pope's attention from his encroachments on ecclesiastical rights by demonstrating his great zeal for orthodoxy. In 1682 the clergy had contributed to this practice in its letter to His Holi-

[1] Lavisse expresses a similar opinion: "It was perhaps to please the pope by a colossal proof of his orthodox zeal that Louis XIV hastened the destruction of Protestantism in France and the useless revocation." *Histoire de France,* VIII, 1:294.

ness: "Need we tell you that the king hates all religious innovations, and that they can find no asylum in any part of his realm? Louis the Great is without doubt a second Maurice, and of him may be said what your predecessor, St. Gregory, said of that emperor, 'Heretics cannot open their lips in all his realm. Whatever dangerous sentiments they may entertain in their hearts, they cannot under so Catholic a prince put their thoughts into words.' "[2] But Innocent was not misled by these fine words; cardinal d'Estrées refers to a similar attempt on the part of his friend cardinal Carpegna who, during an audience in the latter part of April 1685, commenced to laud Louis for his "almost incredible accomplishments against heresy in late years," only to be checked by the pontiff's recriminations on the subject of the *régale* and the four propositions.[3] It will be shown later that the Holy See was kept fully informed as to the progress of the work of "conversion" of the Huguenots, both by the French emissaries in Rome and the nunciature in Paris. But this is not sufficient evidence on which to impute to the papacy any share of responsibility in the revocation.

No historian has ever been so rash as to say that Innocent XI was consulted regarding the edict of 18 October before it was promulgated. Obviously there was no reason for seeking his opinion

[2] Grant, *The French Monarchy,* II, 68.
[3] 1 May 1685. *Correspondance de Rome,* 294, f. 22.

afterwards. He was informed of a *fait accompli.* This statement cannot be denied for the documents clearly prove its truth. Moreover it was not a practice of the king to seek Rome's counsel in any matter. Neither the French ambassador at Rome nor the nuncio was apprised officially of the crown's intention in advance. The first intimation of it which reached the Vatican was written by Ranuzzi but three days before Louis signed the ordinance: "The archbishop of Paris has just come from Fontainbleau, and since his return the rumor is spreading that the king has determined to revoke the Edict of Nantes, since His Majesty does not wish any other religion than the Roman Catholic to be professed in France."[4] As neither the pope nor his representative in Paris had any part in the discussions which preceded the publication of the rescinding edict, no bargain could have been agreed upon by Louis and the Vatican. Furthermore the Venetian ambassador at the French court, Girolamo Venier, reported to his government on the eve of the revocation "that the pope alone is insensible to this beneficent work, that never were bishops more needed in the kingdom . . . and that nevertheless there is no appearance of any yielding on the part of His Holiness."[5] At almost exactly the same time queen Christina, in an audience with

[4] 15 October 1685. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 174, f. 395.

[5] Layard, "The revocation of the Edict of Nantes," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London,* II, 126.

the pontiff, referred deprecatingly to the attempts of the Most Christian King to convert his heretical subjects and reminded the Holy Father that he had no part in the enterprise. Innocent admitted the truth of her assertion.[6] But the most complete proof of Innocent's non-participation in the revocation is given by Louis himself. Less than a month before the publication of the edict the king complained to the duc d'Estrées that the steps he had taken to bring about the conversion of all his Protestant subjects "not only failed to draw from His Holiness the slightest evidence of satisfaction but far less did they induce him to renew cordial relations" with France.[7] Louis added: "Furthermore I see clearly that I am not to expect that His Holiness wishes to participate in such a great work and that I shall owe my happy success to God and to my own steadfastness without any coöperation from the Holy See."

Nevertheless, even though the pope cannot be accused of instigating the attack on the Huguenots, Louis intended to derive some advantage from

[6] *Correspondance de Rome*, 297, f. 226. This despatch is partially published in Michaud, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI*, IV, 486; and Gérin, "Innocent XI et la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes," *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXIV, 417.

[7] 27 September 1685. *Correspondance de Rome*, 296, f. 143. Louis knew that the pope had expressed approbation of his zeal for gaining converts. His ambassador had frequently alluded to Innocent's satisfaction. Consequently when he said that His Holiness had not given *"le moindre témoignage de joie,"* he was thinking of tangible evidences, of concessions.

his defense of orthodoxy, and for this reason the Vatican has been considered by M. Michaud to have been responsible. In his argument he demonstrates that Innocent was opposed to freedom of conscience and had in 1682 decried the emperor's project for religious toleration in Hungary. Moreover he points to the numerous occasions in the despatches of the d'Estrées brothers where there is a reference to the Holy Father's approbation of Louis' crusade for converts. And he concludes, since the crown desired concessions from the Vatican, and since the papacy approved the preliminary steps which later led to the revocation, Innocent XI was to blame for the edict of 18 October.

M. Michaud's thesis seems plausible. Had not the church always depended upon the temporal sword for protection against heresy? Had not the Holy See ever applauded attempts to obliterate religious dissension? Had not, then, the Grand Monarch every reason to anticipate the pontiff's generous gratitude for delivering France from the "hydra-headed monster"? Moreover there can be no denying that Louis was anxious to come to an *entente* with the Vatican. The truth of this statement is to be found in the king's despatches to his representatives in Rome. Throughout the year 1685 the keynote in these instructions is the necessity of healing the breach between France and the Holy See. On 13 January Louis wrote the cardi-

nal d'Estrées of the "pressing need of concluding the differences at once;" on 23 February the prelate was told "to induce the pope to reëstablish amicable relations immediately," and again a month later the Grand Monarch alluded to "the obligation of His Holiness to terminate the disagreement which separates us." On 20 April the royal correspondent reminded the cardinal of "the great advantage the pope could gain for our religion and Christianity if he would promptly end the differences which have troubled the cordial relations which should always exist between the Holy See and me."

The Swiss historian was so impressed by the desire of Louis XIV for a *rapprochement* that he saw therein the explanation for the anti-Huguenot policy and proceeded to hold the Vatican accountable for the revocation. However, Michaud either overlooked or deliberately concealed the evidence which strikes at the very root of his thesis, namely, that the king had grave doubts as to the likelihood of his gaining any concessions from the Holy See in consequence of his attack on the Calvinists. On 20 April 1685 the monarch wrote to cardinal d'Estrées: "The more I work for the pacification of Christendom and the augmentation of our religion, the more His Holiness considers himself safe to refuse me the satisfaction I demand of him." In a despatch of 18 May to the ambassador, His

Majesty complained that the pontiff could not be induced to accord with him either for the assistance he gave James II of England, or for his efforts to extirpate heresy in his own realm, and concluded: "It can no longer be hoped that anything in the world is capable of inspiring in His Holiness sentiments for the welfare of the church." Again on 4 October Louis wrote the cardinal: "The conversions of my subjects increase from day to day and give me reason to hope that in a short time I shall have the satisfaction of having led back to the church almost all those of my kingdom who were separated. But the thing which will most astonish Christendom is that His Holiness has not wished to contribute to an undertaking so important for our religion and to the Holy See." A week later he grumbled that the pope "always takes pleasure in finding new grounds for complaint and pretexts to evade anything which could establish harmony between us."[8]

The foregoing statements are most significant. They clearly demonstrate that Louis had little hope of gaining the longed-for concessions from Innocent XI. By the uncontrovertible testimony of the king's oft-repeated statement, the pontiff remained listless to his demands for an *entente*. Yet the policy of the crown toward the Huguenots remained the same! But one conclusion can logic-

[8] At this time the pope was particularly incensed over the actions of the crown in the Père Alexandre episode. *Vide supra* page 31.

ally be deduced from these facts: the Grand Monarch knew that the pope desired to have heresy gotten rid of, but in the actual revocation of the Edict of Nantes he was not directly influenced by the attitude of the Vatican. The king had determined to crush French Calvinism; if the pope could be induced to reward this service to orthodoxy, so much the better; if not, Calvinism was nevertheless doomed. In other words, although Louis may have been inspired in part by a desire to mollify the Holy See, the latter showed no disposition to modify its position. Moreover, since the French court was fully aware of the papal attitude, it cannot be maintained that Innocent was directly implicated in the responsibility for the revocation.

Still another charge of collusion with Louis XIV, in the latter's attack on the Huguenots, is advanced against the pope, i. e., that the pontiff commended the monarch's zeal for the propagation of the faith and praised his solicitude for the eternal welfare of his heretical subjects. The truth of this accusation is manifest. On 6 January 1685 cardinal d'Estrées reported His Holiness as having said in a recent audience: "Indeed we praise this king who destroys so many heretical churches and desires the extermination of this unfortunate sect in his realm. In this matter we praise him

indeed."[9] Four months later, 8 May, the ambassador wrote that the pope commended not only His Majesty's diligence in destroying heresy, but likewise the means he employed, "gaining some by kindness; dismissing others from their positions in his household and in the administrative, military, judicial and financial departments of state; intimidating those who could not be gained otherwise; and making great expenditures for the subsistence of the major part of the converts." And again on 4 September, the duke informed his august master of the Holy Father's praise of his "indefatigable application to the conversion of heretics." Many others of the despatches from the d'Estrées brothers contain similar statements of the pontifical satisfaction with the proselyting zeal of the Most Christian King.

From a more reliable source there comes further evidence of the pope's pleasure on learning of the various measures enacted against the Huguenots in the spring of 1685. Cardinal Cybo, in a note to Ranuzzi of 22 May, acknowledges receipt of "the royal regulations against the Huguenots for the extinction of that sect," adds that His Holiness was greatly pleased and instructs the nuncio to

[9] Although the text of the despatch says, *"temples d'hérétiques,"* Michaud, in quoting the passage, omits *"temples"* and reports the pope as praising the destruction of so many heretics! *Louis XIV et Innocent XI,* IV, 484. Comment is superfluous.

inform His Majesty of the fact.[10] Many new edicts restricting in different ways the practice of Protestant worship were promulgated in July, and of these the papal representative duly informed the cardinal secretary of state. On 30 July, signore Lauri, an attaché of the Paris nunciature, wrote that ordinances against the Huguenots were continually being published, "many of which have been accorded by His Majesty on the instance of the recent Assembly of the Clergy." Several times during the same month, Ranuzzi, in referring to the conversions, stated it was credible that Calvinism would disappear in a few years. On 27 August the nuncio informed cardinal Cybo of the edict of four days previous in which His Majesty "at the request of the Assembly of the Clergy" forbade Huguenot writers and preachers "to calumniate" the Catholic church. Ranuzzi observes that this declaration contained such sweeping prescriptions and penalties that, if strictly enforced, it would

[10] Cybo's despatch gives no information relative to the "royal regulations" to which he alludes. Since the nuncio from time to time sent to Rome copies of the various ordinances pertaining to religious matters, it might be assumed that he had forwarded the recent anti-Huguenot legislation. In the first four months of 1685 numerous regulations appeared which were onerous to the Protestants, although none entailed forced conversions. The most trying was that of 26 February which provided for the destruction of all the Protestant churches wherein had been received those who had been excluded by earlier laws (former Catholics, newly-converted Catholics, and children of a converted father). The terms of this act were so broad that its strict enforcement would practically wipe out the Protestant churches. For details regarding these laws see *Recueil des anciennes lois françaises,* XIX, 469-508.

result in the destruction of Calvinism, or at least in crippling it so completely "that it will never again be able to lift its head." From the Vatican came the reply that the royal ordinance was read with "particular satisfaction" and that it was hoped great benefits would accrue to religion therefrom. Thus it is apparent that the Holy Father was pleased with the crusade against heresy in France as it was presented to him.

Yet Innocent did not give whole-hearted support to the campaign for conversions which the king had inaugurated, since he was not willing to sanction the means used for their attainment. The first indication of impending difficulty was contained in a despatch of monsignore Ranuzzi, dated 18 June, in which he informed the Vatican that among other matters to be discussed by the approaching Assembly of the Clergy was a newly proposed "Profession of Faith" to which converts were to subscribe. This was to replace the declaration of the council of Trent and was to include the four articles of 1682. The nuncio concluded with the statement that he had demanded an audience with the king and would endeavor to persuade His Majesty not to tolerate this novelty. Two days later Ranuzzi reported his interview, stating that the king desired a new formula of faith "to close the mouths of heretics who perverted the minds of untutored persons by misrepresenting Catholic

doctrine." Cardinal Cybo replied on 17 July commending the nuncio for his attempts to defeat the plan of the assembly. On 20 August the new profession appeared. At once violent opposition developed; according to the nuncio even Père de la Chaise was against the declaration. A week after its publication it was condemned by the archbishop of Paris.

Although Louis considered the matter closed, the pope did not. Several months later the Holy Office solemnly proscribed the revised articles of faith, much to the perturbation of His Most Christian Majesty, who complained to cardinal d'Estrées on 21 December, that it would be better for the church if the Vatican bothered itself less about the means employed by the French prelates in gaining converts, "for nothing is more capable of strengthening the stubbornness of the heretics than Rome's continual censures of everything which does not conform with her doctrines!" The Holy See did not condone the practice which permitted the Huguenots to be received into the church without explicitly forswearing their former beliefs.[11] The papacy was unwilling to tolerate the dilution of Catholic teachings as promulgated by the coun-

[11] 27 November 1685. Cardinal Cybo to the Paris nunciature: "The Huguenots who abjure in general terms without professing the articles expressed in the formulary of Pius IV, as prescribed by the council of Trent, cannot be good Catholics; and the bishops who have approved such abjurations will not be able to justify their conduct." *Nunziatura di Francia,* 172, f. 25.

cil of Trent, for the sake of making conversions among the French Protestants. The end did not justify the means. Louis was made to realize that he could not depend on unqualified support from the Holy See for his proselyting plans.

In what way then may the Vatican be said to have encouraged Louis in his Huguenot policy? Innocent commended his zeal for religion. As head of the church he was pleased to see its sway extended. Yet he offered no favors in return, nor was he willing to subscribe blindly to whatever methods the French zealots should adopt. Could this qualified applause be claimed to furnish Louis the incentive for the abrogation of the Edict of Nantes? After all, it was something far more tangible than approbation which the Grand Monarch sought of the Holy See, and he had been afforded many evidences before 18 October that the pope would not grant the desired concessions. Thus at the time of the actual revocation the papacy had not been consulted. Could it then have been directly responsible? Moreover, in spite of the pontiff's commendation of the zeal of His Most Christian Majesty, the king had no reasonable grounds on which to expect an improvement in the existing relations between France and the Holy See. Of this fact Louis himself assures us. In the face of this evidence it is impossible to believe that

Innocent XI shared the responsibility for the rescinding of the edict of 1598.

That the Grand Monarch attempted to capitalize his religious zeal, as manifested in the numerous conversions effected before the revocation, is apparent. Is it then surprising that he redoubled his efforts in this direction after the accomplishment of his great design?

On 19 October, the morrow of the signing of the revocation and two days before its registration in the Parlement of Paris, the king sent a copy to the duc d'Estrées with this significant remark: "His Holiness, far from according me, on this occasion, the assistance which I had a right to expect from a pope as zealous as he for the glory of God and the welfare of our religion, preferred to leave bishoprics vacant in their hour of greatest need, rather than confirm those whom I have named and know to be the most capable of performing their duty well and carrying out my wishes. You may express these sentiments in Rome, particularly to cardinal Cybo and others who would report them to the pope, that he may realize if there are some Huguenots who still remain obstinate, this misfortune can be attributed only to his coldness toward the reëstablishment of amicable relations with me, and to the prejudices which occupy him with trifles and blind him to the

greatest boon which could be gained for Catholicism."

From the Paris nunciature likewise came advice to make concessions in return for the suppression of Calvinism. In a letter of 29 October signore Lauri stated that "many here" were of the opinion the pope should accord the crown some tangible evidence of his satisfaction with the revocation, such as confirming the royal candidates to the vacant sees. Cardinal Cybo promptly answered this proposal with the statement that His Holiness was ready to grant the necessary approval when "worthy candidates of sane doctrine" were nominated.[12] This of course was as emphatic a refusal as could be made. Henceforth the papal diplomats in Paris did not again raise this question.

Although the king did not consider it likely that he would gain any new advantage from the pope, nevertheless he continued during the month of November to instruct his representatives in Rome to work to this end. On the 16th he informed the ambassador that he doubted whether the pontiff had his great undertaking strongly enough at heart to be willing to accede to the royal wishes in the matter of the bishops. At the same time he told the duke to impress the Vatican with the fact that Innocent XI would bring more renown on his pontificate by an *entente* with France than by anything

[12] 20 November 1685. *Nunziatura di Francia*, 172, f. 25.

he could do toward assisting the emperor against the Turks. A week later Louis assured the cardinal there would always be reason to doubt the pope's gratitude for his great benefits to religion as long as His Holiness refused him the favors he requested. And again on the 29th, in a despatch to the duke, the king said he was astonished that the pontiff, in refusing to grant the concession asked, showed so little interest in the suppression of heresy.

By 6 December word had reached Paris of the pope's pleasure at the revocation. Yet Louis apparently realized the improbability of any change in Franco-Roman relations, for on that date he informed the cardinal of his disappointment that the Holy Father had satisfied himself with empty words in expressing his gratitude for the royal fervor. "I see, however," concludes this despatch, "that you have suggested everything capable of arousing his zeal in this regard. Since your remonstrances bear no fruit we can no longer expect any satisfaction during this pontificate."

That the pope had not participated in the enterprise of which Louis XIV was so proud is implied in the monarch's acknowledgment of the brief of commendation which Innocent sent on being apprised of the edict. After the usual preliminary courtesies in which the king thanked the pontiff for his congratulatory epistle, His Most Christian

Majesty invited the Holy Father to contribute toward the fulfillment of the task by all the means which God had given him. But the concluding statement was the most significant: "The filial respect which we have for Your Holiness will oblige us to share with pleasure all the merit obtainable from such a great augmentation of the faithful."[13] This letter, together with that written to the duc d'Estrées on 27 September, wherein the king said that the Holy See had contributed nothing to his great work, shows clearly that Louis did not consider that the pope shared the responsibility. The Grand Monarch of his own volition had undertaken the suppression of the Huguenots. But now that this had been accomplished, the pope might still partake of the credit if he would but make the desired concessions. The king also wrote to cardinal Cybo urging him to do everything in his power to further the longed-for *rapprochement,* assuring him of his continued esteem and affection. Meanwhile others at court sought to win over the pope. On 10 December the nuncio reported an interview with Colbert de Croissy and Père de la Chaise. Each had referred to the royal zeal and called attention to His Majesty's great benefits to religion. The former had suggested that His Holiness should reward the king by granting him all that he asked, to which Ranuzzi replied

[13] 7 December 1685. *Correspondance de Rome,* 294, f. 373.

with the usual statement the pope could not in conscience accede to the royal demands. The confessor's remarks, similar to those of de Croissy, concluded with the suggestion that the pontiff "relax his strictness a little for a king who had done so much for the church, and who would be inclined to do even more if His Holiness would repay him by more than a brief." The nuncio's response in this instance was much the same as it had been to the minister. The Vatican approved Ranuzzi's conduct; cardinal Cybo informed him that the Holy Father wished de Croissy and de la Chaise to realize that His Most Christian Majesty should expect no earthly reward for the conversion of heretics. Moreover to insure that this word reached the ear of the king the pope instructed the father general of the Jesuits to notify the confessor of his duty to inform his royal penitent that he could not demand nor could His Holiness concede, in return for a meritorious work, the extension of the *régale* or the elevation to episcopal rank of participants in the Assembly of 1682.[14] Père de la Chaise later informed the nuncio that in reply to the admonition of his superior, he had said the king believed it his duty to do what he had done for Catholicism and did not pretend to exact any recompense from the pope, yet many of his predecessors who had

[14] 15 January 1686. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 172A, f. 54.

accomplished much less for religion had obtained far greater recognition from the Holy See!

As time went on, Louis became convinced that he could not gain all his demands. Consequently on 14 December he instructed cardinal d'Estrées to concentrate his efforts on procuring approbation for the royal nominees to the vacant bishoprics. In this despatch the prelate was informed of the king's intention to continue his efforts toward the conversion of the heretics whether or not the Holy See accepted the opportunity of settling the differences which separated the two courts. A week later, in a letter to the ambassador, the monarch expressed some doubt of even obtaining confirmation for his episcopal candidates. In answer to this despatch the duke replied that the "most honorable and worthy" servants of the pope hoped to see him come to an agreement with His Most Christian Majesty, but similar sentiments had not yet become apparent in the pontiff. Furthermore, he concluded, he would continue to do everything humanly possible to convince the pope of the necessity of an *entente* with the French crown, but he had little hope of success.[15] On 11 January the king pointed out to cardinal d'Estrées that he did not expect Innocent to be induced to fill the bishoprics inasmuch as he had delayed so long; yet in spite of this fact it would be well continually to urge him

[15] 8 January 1686. *Correspondance de Rome, 298,* f. 31.

to come to an agreement, and whenever the occasion presented itself to remind the pontiff of the conversions still taking place in France. Thus the Grand Monarch practically admitted the failure of his campaign for papal concessions in recognition of his service to the church. Again on 22 February Louis expressed grave doubts to the duc d'Estrées that the difficulties between the crown and the papacy would be settled during Innocent's lifetime. Nevertheless, directed the king, the ambassador must vigilantly watch for any divinely inspired change of the papal mind, and turn any such opportunity to good account. In accordance with these instructions the d'Estrées brothers sought on all occasions to induce the Holy Father to reach an agreement with their master. That this was no easy task is continually brought out in their letters. On 7 May the cardinal said His Holiness always spoke enthusiastically about the revocation, yet could not refrain from referring to the petty discords which separated him from His Majesty. The prelate felt that even though these complaints had some foundation, they should be overlooked in return for the king's great service to the cause of religion. Yet he had little hope that such would be the case since the pope seemed unwilling to yield. The ambassador, likewise subscribing to his brother's opinion, on 25 June reported that he saw no reason to expect any change in the pope's

disposition toward France, and that this conviction had been confirmed by oft-repeated statements of His Holiness.

An interesting letter of 18 June from cardinal Cybo to the nuncio shows that the French representatives in Rome had formed a true impression of the papal attitude. In this despatch the secretary of state opens by referring to the condition of the king's health, which on several occasions had been reported as cause for alarm, and adds that the Holy Father, obligated by the pastoral duty and by the paternal affection with which he watched over His Majesty's eternal salvation, believed it his duty to prepare the king to be ready for death whenever God should summon him. Should his condition grow worse, continue the instructions, His Holiness desires that the king be informed of the grave necessity of revoking all the acts detrimental to the church which His Majesty, misled by evil advisers, had promulgated. Then follows a list of the offences: the extension of the *régale,* the propagation of the four articles,[16] the suppression of the rights and liberties of many monasteries, various other violations of ecclesiastical immunity and jurisdiction, the maintenance of the claim to the franchises in Rome. Cybo concludes with a suggestion that the nuncio enlist the aid of madame de Maintenon in carrying out this duty,

[16] *Vide supra* page 22.

for he says it could not be hoped that the archbishop of Paris, or the confessor, or Colbert de Croissy would act since they had been foremost in counselling the king on the evil course he had pursued. In replying to this despatch monsignore Ranuzzi informed his superior that His Majesty's health had greatly improved and furthermore it would be very difficult to find anyone at court to deliver the pontiff's advice. Needless to say nothing came of the matter.

Meanwhile from some unknown source Louis had gotten the idea that the pope was ready to relax in his firmness toward the French crown, for on 25 July he informed his ambassador that he had reason to believe His Holiness to be less hostile than hitherto with regard to an *entente*. The duke was instructed to act with his brother in an effort to gain the confirmation of the bishops. But the king's hopes were to be short-lived. On 20 August d'Estrées replied that although he and the cardinal ardently wished that His Majesty's information had been correct, they saw nothing to confirm the sanguine opinions he had expressed, but nevertheless, they would continue as in the past to strive to achieve his desires. The duke concluded avowing doubt that the pope would come to an understanding with the crown, or even grant the bishops their bulls. Herewith the duc d'Estrées voiced his conviction that Franco-Roman relations were as

strained in August 1686 as they had been during the past several years. This was undoubtedly the case. The next month was to witness a change for the worse.

Innocent XI had conferred the red hat only once in his pontificate prior to 1686. This had occurred in 1682. By 1686 the college of cardinals had become so depleted that an increase was an absolute necessity, expected from one consistory to the next. Nominations had been made by all the Catholic rulers, and every possible influence was being used at Rome in support of the various candidates. Louis XIV sponsored the bishops of Beauvais and Strasbourg. Although neither of these prelates was worthy of the purple, the king considered that in recognition of his religious zeal the pope would be unable to refuse his demands.[17] In the consistory of 3 September the long awaited event took place. Twenty-seven cardinals were created. Among this number were to be found three Germans, two Spaniards, two Poles, two Venetians and one Portuguese.

To be sure William von Fürstemberg, bishop of Strasbourg, was included in the promotion but he was not Louis' first choice nor was he a Frenchman. The bishop of Beauvais was ignored. This rebuff was the more stinging since Innocent had honored the candidates of the other princes, and at the request of James II of England had even con-

[17] Of this he had informed the duc d'Estrées on 17 January 1686.

ferred the red hat against his will. The pontiff's refusal to elevate bishop de Forbin was disagreeable enough in itself, but Innocent added greatly to the royal chagrin by raising Etienne Le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, to the sacred college without consulting His Most Christian Majesty. Inasmuch as this prelate was notoriously out of favor with the court at the time, his advancement was regarded as a definite affront. On learning of the action taken at the consistory Louis informed cardinal d'Estrées that he would have had no ground for complaint, had the pope heeded his recommendations in favor of the bishop of Beauvais. Moreover, concluded His Majesty, although he had consented to Le Camus' request to be permitted to receive the dignity, he did not consider this promotion to compensate for the little regard the pope had given his demands, particularly since the house of Austria had fared so well.[18] Nor did the king fail to inform cardinal Ranuzzi (the nuncio too had received the hat) of the Holy Father's ingratitude. On 23 September the papal representative at Paris informed cardinal Cybo of these complaints and pointed out that Louis considered he had well merited the favor of His Holiness because of the extirpation of heresy and by virtue of his many benefits to Catholicism. These protests availed nothing.

[18] 13 September 1686. *Correspondance de Rome,* 300, f. 214.

At last, less than a year after the revocation, the Grand Monarch was forced to realize that Innocent XI, far from being willing to grant him any concessions, was not even disposed to bestow upon him the favors he conferred on the other crowned heads of Europe. Several months later occurred the death of the French ambassador at Rome and the attendant outbreak of the difficulties over the franchises. Relations between Louis XIV and the Holy See became increasingly worse. Henceforth the Franco-Roman correspondence is filled with the details of the new struggle and there is almost no mention of matters relevant to the Edict of Nantes. Claims and counter-claims, charges and counter-charges, complaints and counter-complaints fill the despatches. The possibility of a settlement was too remote even to merit consideration. On 8 December 1687 the nuncio informed cardinal Cybo of monsieur de Croissy's complaint that the sovereign pontiff had refused to receive the marquis de Lavardin. The foreign minister claimed that this act clearly demonstrated the great aversion which His Holiness had for the French crown and gratified the Huguenots who saw themselves vindicated by the pope. To the latter charge the secretary of state replied that instead of seeing themselves vindicated "the Protestants are scandalized and elated at His Majesty's treatment of the pontiff, and are the more convinced that the king

had converted his heretical subjects for mere political interests and not by reason of any impulse of piety or religious zeal."

At the time of the excommunication of the marquis de Lavardin and the consequent appeal to a general council, the advocate general addressed the Parlement of Paris preparatory to presenting the appeal for registration. After recounting the conversion of two million Huguenots because of the efforts of the Most Christian Monarch, he proceeded: "What acknowledgment not only in words but in deeds, what multitudes of graces and favors had not the king a right to expect from the pope! What manifestations of respect and deference are not the church and all her ministers obliged to render a prince from whom they receive such powerful and efficacious protection!" And the act of appeal itself states that if the obligations which the pontiff and his predecessors have to France are not sufficient to induce him to render honors and favors to Louis' ambassadors proportionate to these benefits "at least His Holiness, as visible head of the church, would not be insensible to the wonders the king had accomplished before his very eyes by returning to the bosom of the good mother church such a great number of children who were estranged from her." That this appeal would alleviate the situation was not to be expected; another

crisis occurred on the death of the archbishop of Cologne.

In a letter to the pope advocating cardinal von Fürstemberg's confirmation as archbishop-elector, Louis made the statement that heretofore he had received no favors from His Holiness.[19] And when he saw that he was again to be thwarted in his plans he wrote an open letter to cardinal d'Estrées denouncing Innocent's attitude: "Old and new Catholics are scandalized to see that while I employ my efforts, my authority and my resources for the destruction and entire extirpation of heresy, not only do I fail to obtain from His Holiness the favors which would contribute to the consummation of this great enterprise but on the contrary he prides himself in depriving my ambassador of the franchises which his predecessors have always enjoyed in peace and which were confirmed to them by the treaty of Pisa."[20] Henceforth the king considered the pope an enemy and made no further efforts toward an *entente*. In a later chapter more will be said with regard to the hostility directed toward the pontiff during 1688 and 1689, but here a few words must be added to explain the connection between the Franco-Roman relations after the revocation and that event itself.

[19] 22 July 1688. *Epistola Ludovici XIV ad Innocentium PP. XI,* (MS., Odescalchi).

[20] 6 September 1688. *Lettre du roi à monsieur le cardinal d'Estrées.*

In his exercise of absolute authority Louis XIV had early come into serious conflict with Innocent XI who sought to defend the French church against the overweening domination of the crown. During this struggle the king, in order to divert the pontiff's attention, raised the old question of papal supremacy in the church and widened the breach already separating them. This was the state of affairs when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in October 1685. It has been shown that the Grand Monarch made use of this event in an attempt to settle his differences with the pope, and furthermore that His Holiness granted no concessions. Instead of improving, the relations between France and the papacy grew steadily worse after 1685. Some historians have claimed that the purpose of the abrogating ordinance was to conciliate the Holy See. Had this been the case, Louis was guilty of a grave diplomatic blunder in not sounding out the Vatican and driving a bargain before promulgating the edict. This seems entirely incompatible with the acumen in statesmanship usually shown by the king.

Since the royal policy toward the Huguenots was in no degree modified when the king saw the hopelessness of gaining the desired concessions, it seems entirely unlikely that the Franco-Roman *rapprochement* motive played an important part in

that policy. Innocent XI neither instigated the revocation nor did he reward its sponsor. Insofar as Louis may have hoped to reconcile the Holy See by that act, he failed dismally.

CHAPTER IV

INNOCENT'S APPROBATION OF THE REVOCATION *Per Se*

That Innocent XI neither instigated the revocation of the Edict of Nantes nor in the slightest degree altered his policy toward the French crown as a result of it, is clear. Yet to understand his position with regard to that action it is necessary to consider first his attitude toward the ordinance itself, and second his opinion of the persecution which followed. The latter will be treated in the next chapter. Innocent's point of view regarding the abrogation *per se* will be studied in the relevant official utterances of the Holy See, in the testimony of several observers, in an investigation of the significance of the public demonstrations at Rome, and of the attitude of the pope toward similar questions in other places.

Heretofore historians have been unable to agree as to Innocent's approval or disapproval of Louis' act rescinding the privileges of the Huguenots.[1] Such uncertainty on a simple question of fact may be attributed to one of two possible causes; the writers have been either prejudiced or but partially

[1] A full discussion of these varying opinions is given in chapter VII. *Vide infra* page 180.

informed. Since most of those interested in the subject have been apologists, and few had access to the sources, it is not surprising that the matter has remained obscure. In several official documents Innocent XI, referring directly or indirectly to the revocation, compliments His Most Christian Majesty on his achievement. Those who would vindicate the pope of the charge of concurring in the royal act have overlooked these very important documents.

When informed of the abrogating edict, the Holy Father addressed a brief to Louis, in which he said: "Our very dear son in Christ, greeting and apostolic blessing. In comparison with the other illustrious proofs which abundantly evidence the piety implanted in Your Majesty, that extraordinary zeal, worthy of a Christian king, stands forth preëminently. This it is which inspired you to abrogate completely the regulations favoring the heretics of your realm and caused you to give heed splendidly to the propagation of the orthodox faith by the very wise decrees which you have promulgated.[2] All this has been set forth to us by our beloved son, the noble duc d'Estrées, your

[2] The pope is referring to the edict of revocation and to the various ordinances directed against the Huguenots which preceded it. On 17 September the Paris nunciature had sent to Rome a packet containing copies of all of the important anti-Protestant decrees issued during the year. These twenty-three ordinances had deprived the Huguenots of almost every privilege they had enjoyed save that of remaining non-Catholics. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 174, f. 647-648.

ambassador before us. For this reason we have deemed it to be our duty to commend lavishly your glorious religious spirit by this distinguished and enduring evidence, our letter, and to congratulate you exceedingly on the crown of immortal praises which, through a signal deed of this kind, you have added to your hitherto nobly performed achievements. Assuredly the Catholic church in her annals will recount so great a deed displaying your devotion toward her, and will honor your name with undying laudation. Deservedly indeed will you be able to promise yourself particularly rich recompense from the Divine Goodness for that most excellent design; be persuaded that we shall not cease constantly to pour forth earnest prayers to the same Goodness for the attainment of this goal. The rest you will learn from our venerable brother Angelo [Ranuzzi], archbishop of Fano, while we most lovingly bestow upon Your Majesty our apostolic benediction."[3]

The words of the brief leave no doubt as to the sentiments of the writer. It had been impossible more emphatically to place the stamp of approval on the royal action, yet an interesting circumstance somewhat modifies the force of the pontifical letter. It was not the spontaneous outburst of enthusi-

[3] The original document is to be found in *Correspondance de Rome*, 297, f. 231. It is published in *Innocentii PP. XI epistolae ad principes*, II, 260; and in French translation in Gérin, "Innocent XI et la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes," *Revue des Questions Historques*, XXIV, 426.

asm which has been depicted by those anxious to discredit the Holy See. Charles Gérin was the first to notice the significant concluding remark in cardinal d'Estrées' despatch, dated the same day as the brief: "Before news of the edict had arrived His Holiness had already decided to send a letter to Your Majesty, to rejoice with you for the innumerable conversions of your subjects."[4] As Gérin points out, this statement could mean only that the pope had been on the point of writing to the Grand Monarch when news of the ordinance of 18 October reached Rome. His opinion is substantiated by a despatch of the nuncio at Paris. On 15 October monsignore Ranuzzi, speaking of the numerous conversions, asserted it was the general opinion of the court that the pope took no notice of the zealous efforts of the king. For this reason the nuncio deemed it his duty to suggest that His Holiness "by a brief or in some other public form testify his gratification at the king's application to the conversion of heretics and close the mouths of his critics." Cardinal Cybo responded on 9 November that the Holy Father had always spoken of Louis' ardor with the greatest praise, not only to the duc d'Estrées, but to all the other ambassadors in Rome, "and," concluded the letter, "His Holiness is most favorably disposed to express

[4] 13 November 1685. *Correspondance de Rome*, 294, f. 370. Gérin, *op. cit.*, 425.

these sentiments to His Majesty himself by a brief which will be sent to Your Lordship in a later post." The papal epistle of 13 November then, was determined upon before the pope knew anything about the edict of the preceding month. The nuncio requested the pontiff to commend Louis' efforts for the propagation of the faith and the Holy See had agreed to do so. The pope learned of the revocation before this brief was sent to Louis and as a consequence he alludes to it in his letter. Yet this fact by no means implies that the brief was of no significance, nor that the pope was not delighted to learn of the royal edict. It simply indicates that the pontifical letter should not be given as great emphasis as most writers have accorded it and that the subsequent epistles of Innocent XI to Louis XIV should be examined for confirmation of the statement that the crown's action had been pleasing to Rome.

On two later occasions the pontiff, in addressing the Grand Monarch, praises His Most Christian Majesty's zeal for religion. Although in neither instance is there any direct reference to the revocation, it is impossible to believe that either statement would have been made, had the pope disapproved that act. A brief of 3 June 1686 stated: "Moreover, assigning abundant and deserved praises to the extraordinary zeal with which you

strive each day further to advance piety and the Catholic religion in that flourishing realm of yours, we pray God, from Whom all blessings flow, for Your Majesty's continuously unbroken happiness and prosperity;"[5] and again on 15 January 1689: "With how lively a feeling of paternal love I have always honored Your Majesty and honor you now, assuredly God, the Examiner of hearts, knows. For I have never omitted, nor shall I ever cease pouring forth to Him earnest prayers for your safety and for the prosperity and success of your royal house. Indeed, to strive for this with constant prayers I have had and shall have as a powerful incentive that extraordinary zeal (never sufficiently to be commended by any praises) with which you have set as your illustrious goal to extend the Catholic religion and to guard it vigorously against heretics. Toward this end I too, pursuing closely the footsteps of my predecessors, am prepared to unite whenever there is need . . ."[6] These statements are of utmost significance in confirmation of the letter of 13 November 1685. Standing alone that brief might have been considered insufficient evidence in the light of the nuncio's previous request. But a study of all of the official public correspondence of the Vatican compels the conclusion that the supreme pontiff en-

[5] *Innocentii PP. XI epistolae ad principes,* II, 275.
[6] *Ibid.,* II, 425.

dorsed the edict rescinding the rights of the Huguenots.

Moreover, the secret despatches to the nuncio in Paris confirm this conclusion. On the same day that the first despatch was sent, cardinal Cybo informed Ranuzzi that His Holiness had felt inexpressible joy on hearing of a work of such great benefit to religion. Cybo also instructed the pope's representative to accompany the presentation of the brief to the king with appropriate words of paternal affection and commendation. On the occasion of the second pontifical letter, which was delivered to cardinal d'Estrées to present to his royal master, the cardinal secretary of state wrote Ranuzzi to tell the king at his first audience that the Holy Father greatly appreciated Louis' many works of piety and achievements for Catholicism.[7]

Nor are these the only sources from which information is to be derived as to Innocent's attitude toward the abrogation of the Edict of Nantes. The prolific correspondence of the d'Estrées brothers discloses a great store of relevant data. In a long despatch of 13 November 1685 the cardinal relates a conversation which took place on the preceding day in consistory. The French prelate had mentioned the revocation for the first time and the pope, waxing enthusiastic, praised the Grand Monarch and protested that he desired nothing

[7] 3 June 1686. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 381, f. 284.

more than the salvation of souls through the glory of the king of France. Later upon the same day the ambassador was granted an audience and officially notified the pope of the edict of 18 October. For more than an hour, according to the duke, His Holiness praised and commended the king for what he had done. So great, in fact, was the joy of the pontiff, d'Estrées concludes, that it would have been necessary to have been present to appreciate Innocent's feelings. A week later the duc d'Estrées again spoke of the pope's complete satisfaction, saying that unless appearances be deceiving, one could not be more pleased than His Holiness with the new edict. A long report from the cardinal, dated the same day, contained similar information supplemented by the statement that the Holy Father would speak of the abrogation in the next consistory and would order public celebrations. On 27 November the duke related a conversation with signore Lando, the Venetian ambassador to the Holy See, who had just had an audience with the pope, in which the latter had highly praised the action of Louis.

During the next four months Innocent XI was very ill and for the most part confined to his apartments. For this reason none of the diplomats were received at the Vatican and in so far as possible matters of state were postponed. Nevertheless an

occasional expression of opinion coming from the sacred palace was greedily seized upon by the French representatives. On 29 January 1686 the ambassador reported an audience granted by the ailing pontiff to cardinal Mellini, recently arrived in Rome from the Madrid nunciature. Cardinal Cybo had very secretly passed this information on to the Palazzo Farnese and the duke at once visited Mellini to learn what he could. The prelate said His Holiness had expressed the utmost admiration for all that His Most Christian Majesty had accomplished for religion. Again on 12 February the ambassador said not only had the pope spoken to Mellini of the extirpation of heresy in France with great praise, but he had done likewise to many other persons. The duc d'Estrées was received in audience on 16 April for the first time since the pontiff's illness. This occasion afforded the envoy an opportunity to refer again to the edict of the previous October, for, at this time, Louis' letter acknowledging the papal brief was presented. His Holiness, according to the ambassador, took up the matter with the same spirit which he had shown when first informed of the ordinance. On 30 April the cardinal wrote that in referring to the Roman celebration of the suppression of heresy in France, the Holy Father had asserted enough could not be done in thanksgiving for such an achievement.

Although the evidence furnished by the brothers d'Estrées is surely sufficient, still another thoroughly reliable witness adds his testimony in support of their assertions. Berreiros Leitam, archdeacon of Braga, a Portuguese prelate who had been in Rome for several years prior to 1688, when later summoned to appear before the congregation appointed to examine Innocent's deeds with a view to his beatification, deposed: "On the occasion of the accomplishment by the Most Christian King of the conversion of the Huguenots the pope was delighted and praised the act greatly."[8] Dom Jean Durand, a French Benedictine scholar working at the Vatican in 1685, reflected the popular idea as to the papal attitude on the matter in a letter to one of his confrères in Paris: "The king's ordinance forbidding the Huguenots the exercise of their religion has been published here in Italian. It is said that the pope has shown much joy at the rescinding of these edicts which have so greatly chagrined his predecessors."[9]

The ready approval which Innocent gave Louis' intolerant act is compatible with the policy which the pontiff maintained on other occasions when similar situations arose. Many Huguenots escaped to Nice after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and monsignore Mosti, nuncio at Turin, informed

[8] *Summarium super dubio,* 64.

[9] 4 December 1685. Mabillon, *Correspondance inédite,* I, 175.

the Vatican on 31 October that an attempt had been made by these refugees to gain permission to construct a church. Mosti protested and was assured not only that the necessary consent would be withheld, but that none of the *émigrés* would be allowed to remain permanently in Nice.[10] Cardinal Cybo replied to this communication by commending the nuncio for his alertness and stating the pope's gratification to learn that the Huguenots were not to be permitted to settle in Savoy. But this was only the beginning. For some time the Grand Monarch had been urging the young duke, Victor Amedeus II, to punish his Waldensian subjects for sheltering those Huguenots who succeeded in crossing the frontier of Dauphiny, and all indications pointed to religious trouble in the duchy.[11] The Protestants of the northern valleys had fortified a number of strategic positions and were preparing to defend themselves.

On 21 November the presence of a deputation of Waldensians in Turin to explain their restlessness and urge the youthful ruler to confirm their right freely to profess their religion was reported by the nuncio. That their fears were well grounded is attested by this significant passage in a despatch

[10] *Nunziatura di Savoia,* 103, f. 232.

[11] On 15 October 1685 Ranuzzi reported to Cybo that Colbert de Croissy had informed him confidentially that the king had given "vigorous impulses" to Victor Amedeus to suppress heresy in Savoy, in order that Calvinism could the more easily be extirpated in France.

sent to Mosti by the cardinal secretary of state on 27 November: "The Holy Father rejoices to learn the young duke's pious desire, seconded by his ministers, gently to bring about the conversion of the heretics of the valley of Lucerna [Savoy], and highly commends Your Lordship's efforts in this direction." On 4 December cardinal Cybo further instructed the nuncio to oppose the request of the delegation with all his might, and to make it known that the Holy See found itself forced to resist any such act. Louis' part in the impending attack upon the Savoyard Protestants is reflected by a report of 12 December from the papal representative at Turin disclosing an offer by the French crown of all the troops in Dauphiny to serve the duke in wiping out Calvinism in the valleys; furthermore a despatch from the Paris nunciature related a conversation between Ranuzzi and the ambassador of Savoy wherein the latter asserted the duke's determination to second the application of the Grand Monarch in exterminating heresy.[12] On 5 February cardinal Cybo apprised Mosti of the pleasure with which His Holiness would greet the news that Protestantism had been obliterated in the duchy.

A few days later word reached Rome that Victor Amedeus had prohibited the exercise of any

[12] 28 January 1686. *Nunziatura di Francia*, 172A, f. 400.

religious worship, other than the Catholic, in his territories. Innocent at once sent him a brief of commendation.[13] Moreover on 19 February cardinal Cybo made known to monsignore Ranuzzi the pope's sentiments regarding the suppression of religious toleration in Savoy; he said: "The duke's resolution to extirpate heresy in the valleys of his domain has been received with great satisfaction by the Holy Father, who considers himself duty bound to commend the zeal and piety of His Highness in a brief full of paternal affection and gratitude." To show that the Holy See accorded unqualified approval to the abrogation of religious freedom in Savoy, which followed within four months an identical act on the part of France, it is certainly unnecessary to proceed further. Innocent's endorsement of the act of Victor Amedeus is consistent with his attitude toward the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Another instance may be cited to show that the pontiff's policy with regard to religious freedom was unvarying.

[13] "Beloved son, etc. . . . Since our beloved son, count Provana, has manifested to us that a plan has been formed by Your Highness with reference to extirpating completely the heresy abiding in some dominions subject to you, we have considered it our part in these words to commend your purpose, so glorious and full of renown, and to exhort you earnestly to accomplish it promptly. Assuredly when you do that you will be able to expect from God, generous Requiter of things done for the propagation of the faith, a recompense corresponding to the work which you are about to undertake, beloved son, for whose successes, prosperous everywhere, we pray earnestly, and most lovingly bestow our apostolic benediction . . . Rome, 16 February 1686. *Innocentii PP. XI epistolae ad principes,* II, 269.

Monsignore Visconti, the nuncio at Cologne, in a somewhat lengthy despatch of 30 June 1686 informed cardinal Cybo of a peculiar situation which had arisen in the electorate, and sought advice as to the course of action which he should pursue.[14] The town of Rimbergh, on the lower Rhine, had been taken from the archbishop-elector by the Spanish early in the seventeenth century. Later it passed from Spanish to Dutch control. The latter introduced Protestantism, although permitting Catholics the private worship of their religion. In the Dutch war, Louis XIV acquired Rimbergh and restored Catholicism to its former position. Still later the French monarch returned the town to the archbishop of Cologne. Since the governor and one-third of the population were Protestants, he conceded them a granary in which to hold their religious exercises, retaining, however, the right to withdraw the privilege whenever he so desired. When the nuncio learned of the archiepiscopal magnanimity he set about to discover its reason. He learned that the elector was convinced that any proscription placed upon the Protestants would furnish a pretext for retaliatory measures toward the Catholics in neighboring Protestant states and consequently this policy had been adopted pending a more favorable opportunity to rescind the tolerant measures. What his attitude

[14] *Nunziatura di Colonia*, 63, f. 204.

should be toward this situation was the point on which the nuncio sought information. On 20 July cardinal Cybo replied that the report had been submitted to the congregation of the Holy Office and on 28 September the secretary of state sent instructions based upon the congregation's recommendation. Inasmuch as conditions were such as had been depicted, it appeared that the concession made to the heretics of Rimbergh could not be withdrawn without danger of serious consequences; therefore it would be advisable to defer such action. Nevertheless the nuncio should not fail to keep the matter before the elector's mind together with the importance of remedying a situation which might become dangerous to the faith.[15]

From each of these incidents it becomes increasingly apparent that Innocent XI had decided opinions about religious toleration. On two occasions he formally approved the abrogation of legislation which granted recognition to dissenting sects and on the third he countenanced a similar recognition only until such time as it could be rescinded without dire results to the church of which he was the visible head. This shows the consistency of the pontiff's outspoken endorsement of Louis' action. Yet there remains still another evidence of Innocent's commendation of the October edict. On 18 March 1686 the pope lauded the achievement of

[15] *Ibid.*, 222, f. 216.

the French crown in consistory, and authorized the representatives of His Most Christian Majesty in Rome to celebrate it publicly. This aspect of the situation has been reserved for particular consideration because of the importance which the Grand Monarch attached to it.

Whenever the church was the recipient of some boon it was customary in Rome to offer thanks to the Author of all blessings. Such occasions were opened with the singing of the *Te Deum,* followed by public festivities. Under the circumstances what was more natural than to expect such a demonstration to follow the revocation of the Edict of Nantes? When none occurred, its absence was noted at once and attempts were made to explain it. Antoine Arnauld, in a letter addressed to a friend, expressed the opinion that since means were employed in the conversions which were "a bit violent" it was better that there was no papal rejoicing.[16] Barillon, the French ambassador in London, reported to his master that the rumor had spread in England that the Holy See disapproved of the treatment accorded the Huguenots.[17] Nor could the publicity which Barillon gave the papal brief of 13 November dispel the illusion. To allay such

[16] 13 December 1685. Arnauld, *Lettres,* IV, 329.

[17] Barillon's correspondence has been published in part by Pascal, "Louis XIV et les réfugiés huguenots en Angleterre," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français,* XL.

rumors it was imperative that the pope be induced to acclaim Louis' action before the world.

A week following the date of Innocent's brief approving the revocation, cardinal d'Estrées assured his sovereign that the pontiff intended to order public rejoicing and that the master of ceremonies had been instructed to examine the records of previous pontificates in order to acquaint himself with the appropriate ceremonial for such an occasion.[18] Seven days later the cardinal informed Louis that plans had been completed for the celebration and that monsignore Casoni, one of the pope's confidants, was charged with the composition of the papal discourse to be delivered in the consistory which would inaugurate the festivities. The cardinal spoke of Innocent as being slightly indisposed and remarked that he had not yet approved the arrangements. On 4 December the same prelate wrote that the pope, on account of his illness, had given no attention to state affairs for ten days. Louis replied sarcastically that had the Holy Father been as greatly impressed by the October edict as he should have been it had been less likely that a "slight indisposition" would postpone the public rejoicing. On 18 December the d'Estrées brothers again informed the court that there were no indications as to the time of the celebrations. Apparently there must have been some mur-

[18] 20 November 1685. *Correspondance de Rome,* 294, f. 377.

murings in Rome about this time to the effect that there would be no recognition of events in France, for Dom Michel Germain, an associate of Dom Jean Durand, mentioned above,[19] informed a colleague in France of this fact, contrasting the attitude of Innocent with that of his predecessor, Gregory XIII at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholemew's day.[20] That the French representatives shared this opinion is unlikely for at no time did they report any such idea to the king, and it is difficult to see what reason they could have had for concealing it. Nevertheless the cardinal, in a despatch composed on Christmas day, related an episode of the previous evening which is indicative of the eagerness with which he and his brother sought to gain public recognition for their royal master's action.

According to custom there had been a Christmas eve supper at the Vatican for the cardinals *in curia*. Such functions were always witnessed by great crowds of spectators. After the repast but before the company had parted, the French prelate read an extract from a letter recently received from Père de la Chaise describing the great benefits which had come to the Gallican church.

[19] *Vide supra* page 93.

[20] 24 December 1685. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, I, 192. This opinion is likewise expressed in the interesting diary of an unknown courtier, 26 December 1685, Griselle, "Avant et après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, LVII, 553.

He concluded his remarks with an invitation to those present to proceed to the chapel and give thanks to God, while awaiting the *Te Deum* and other marks of papal jubilation. Cardinal d'Estrées does not explain, nor has any evidence been discovered, which would tend to show whether or not his performance was an unpremeditated outburst of enthusiasm or a carefully conceived attempt to commit the pope to an endorsement of the revocation. By return post the king commended this unheard-of insolence on the part of his representative!

On 22 January 1686 cardinal d'Estrées informed His Most Christian Majesty that he also had been struck by the idea that the pope might have ordered the thanksgiving ceremonies in spite of his illness, and had said as much to cardinal Cybo. The latter apprised him of a despatch which he had sent, on His Holiness' orders, to the Paris nuncio, announcing the intention of the pope to recognize publicly the revocation so that the French court would not believe that he had changed his sentiments. A week later d'Estrées mentioned another conversation with the secretary of state in which the latter reiterated Innocent's determination to speak of the edict in the first consistory and to follow this by the celebrations. On 15 February a royal despatch to the prelate gave as the king's reason for his desire to obtain papal commendation

of his policy, the fact that "nothing would give the heretics greater pleasure than to see the pope remain silent on a matter which causes them such mortification."

The long deferred consistory was held on 18 March. Innocent spoke in fulsome terms of the king: "With pleasure we address you briefly concerning those things so splendidly performed by our very dear son Louis, the Most Christian King, and reported to us through his ambassador, the noble duc d'Estrées. The paternal affection which we hold for the king himself and the flourishing kingdom of France has been filled with incredible happiness. By giving power to His Majesty to wipe out the abominations of impiety in the short space of a few months, the Lord has wonderfully displayed His compassion. He has freed almost the entire realm from that superstition which, stirred up by wicked men a century ago, wretchedly harassed the people in civil wars with great danger to the orthodox faith and public safety. Our same very dear son, having abrogated the edicts which heretics, enemies of the state, had wrested from the Most Christian Kings, his ancestors, amid the storms and stress of wars, promulgated new decrees forbidding them all use of their churches and freedom of assembly. The hand of God was put over them. As His compassion bids us to hope, so He gave them new heart to do the word of the

Lord according to the king's command, and from the errors in which they had been born and nourished, to return to the Catholic truth. Since in this matter the zeal and piety of the Most Christian King are marvelously clear, assuredly our praises and those of all of you are due to this immortal service. Praises in abundance will be rendered to him by all posterity as long as the memory of this glorious deed is cherished. Meanwhile, with earnest prayers, we ought to ask the Father of Light each day to inspire in the king's heart still more ardor for the accomplishment of those things which can bring joy and well-being to the Christian state and the Catholic church."[21] Ranuzzi informed Cybo that Colbert de Croissy had told him of Louis' satisfaction with the allocution. The king himself expressed his joy to cardinal d'Estrées, authorizing him to acquaint the pope with these sentiments.

After the consistory nothing remained to prevent the celebrations. The pope had announced that the *Te Deum* would follow at once, but the d'Estrées, ambassador and cardinal, had requested that it be postponed until after Easter, in order that the accompanying festivities should not be confined in any way by Lenten proprieties. On this point the pontiff acquiesced. The day set for the opening of the demonstration was 28 April and His

[21] Gérin, *op. cit.*, 434.

Holiness ordered the simultaneous singing of the *Te Deum* in all the churches of the Eternal City. The papal chapel was attended by all the cardinals in Rome save four who were ill. Innocent was absent, but cardinal d'Estrées was convinced that the feebleness resulting from his recent illness was the sole reason. In his despatch of 30 April cardinal Cybo apprised the nuncio at Paris of the pontiff's regret that he had been unable to assist at the service, instructing him to tell the king that "with paternal tenderness of heart the Holy Father again blessed him for this great accomplishment."[22]

The public rejoicing which accompanied the thanksgiving services was all that Louis could wish. Commencing this part of the demonstration all the bells of Rome were pealed for thirty minutes while the artillery of the Vatican and Sant' Angelo joined in the din. An unnamed Frenchman, writing from Rome at the time, remarked: "During this half-hour there was a pleasing confusion of the ringing of bells and the detonation of cannon which inspired extraordinary sentiments of tenderness and piety in the hearts of the faithful."[23] The fete lasted three days and consisted of religious celebrations, processions, bonfires, illuminations and fountains running wine. One observer estimated that it cost the d'Estrées brothers between ten and

[22] It is amusing to note that the French ambassador, having the gout, was likewise unable to attend.

[23] *Copie d'une lettre écrite de Rome, du 30 avril 1686.*

eleven thousand *écus*.[24] Louis XIV was entirely satisfied. He had no doubt, he assured the duke, but that this public expression of papal commendation would produce a good effect on the "old" Catholics and those newly "converted."

Thus Innocent XI terminated his official interest in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At no later time during his pontificate did he publicly mention that act. Informed of it after its promulgation he had given it his unqualified approval. In the light of prevailing seventeenth-century opinion on religious toleration his attitude was exactly what one would expect. There was nothing explicitly stated in the decree of abrogation which necessitated a religious persecution. In fact its twelfth article categorically recognized the individual right of a free conscience and guaranteed the Huguenots against compulsion in the matter of conversion.[25] By endorsing the revocation the pope merely subscribed to the policy of his prede-

[24] Claude Estiennot in a letter to Mabillon dated 16 May 1686, Mabillon, *op. cit.*, I, 256.

[25] The edict of revocation was followed by a number of supplementary decrees which, together with the dragonnades, account largely for the persecution of the Huguenots. In January 1686 a law forbade the unconverted wives and widows of "new Catholics" to dispose of their property by testament or gift and deprived them of their rights of inheritance. Another edict of the same month provided that all Protestant children between the ages of five and sixteen years should be reared by their Catholic relatives, or in default of these by "old Catholics." A regulation of 29 April provided extremely harsh penalties for Huguenots who, having abjured, should refuse to receive the sacraments of the church when gravely ill. A declaration of 1 July provided the death penalty for all those

cessors and his church with regard to the recognition by a Catholic state of dissenting religions. That policy had for several centuries prescribed a denial of political rights and privileges to heretics in order to discountenance heresy. Moreover the papacy, sharing the point of view of the Gallican clergy with regard to the Edict of Nantes, considered it a breach of faith on the part of the state, an inducement to apostasy. Against this opinion the pontiff could not have set his face, even had he been so minded. That he approved of the abrogating ordinance *per se* is attested by his every word and act thereafter, but what he thought of France's religious reign of terror, her widespread persecution, her forced conversions, is entirely another matter.

who should be apprehended in the performance of any other religious rites than the Catholic. The same ordinance decreed death to any Huguenot minister who entered the realm. *Recueil des anciennes lois françaises,* XIX, 535-548; XX, 2-5.

CHAPTER V

INNOCENT'S CONDEMNATION OF THE PERSECUTION AND FORCED CONVERSIONS

The persecution which grew out of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was closely connected with the ordinance itself, indeed it is difficult to separate them. Historians and controversialists in general have made no attempt to do so. That Innocent XI approved the abrogation has been shown; efforts will now be made to demonstrate his condemnation of its consequences. So great is the seeming inconsistency of such an attitude that at first glance it appears impossible. Yet the paradox would be relatively simple if it could be established that the pope was unaware of the use of force at the time he gave his sanction to the royal act.

Innocent himself, on at least one occasion, expressed the opinion that no force had been employed in gaining conversions in France. The duc d'Estrées, in the despatch which apprised his royal master of the papal reaction to the first news of the rescinding decree, described the audience granted him on 13 November 1685. A consistory had preceded the ambassador's reception and in reference to it the pontiff remarked that a cardinal had told

him that the French king was making conversions by compulsion. Innocent assured the duke that he had denied the accusation and made known to the prelate in question that His Most Christian Majesty had purged his kingdom of heretics by kindness and by the expenditure of great sums of money. Furthermore, His Holiness added, he had pointed out that even had His Majesty been obliged to employ force, he would have been warranted in so doing; had not the Huguenots wrested their privileges from his predecessors at a time when the government was weak, and was not the king, then, justified in using all the forces at his command to repeal these concessions? Later in the discussion, d'Estrées, contrasting the proselyting zeal of the Grand Monarch with that of Charlemagne, pointed out the bloodshed and length of time involved in the emperor's effort as compared with Louis' in the conversion of most of his subjects "in two or three years by gentle means." Nor does the pope's reference to coercion necessarily imply anything more than the suppression of opposition which might be raised against the royal authority.[1]

[1] Somewhat similar sentiments on the part of His Holiness are expressed in the beatification process, by Berreiros Leitam: "Having learned that the Most Christian King was censured for employing force, the Holy Father defended him, saying that he had acted rightly and that the heretics couldn't complain since it was just that these privileges, which they had wrung from a king of blessed memory during a time of disturbance, should be revoked by the same means." *Summarium super dubio*, 64.

Shortly before he knew of the revocation Innocent defended the policy of Louis XIV toward his Protestant subjects in an audience granted the representatives of Venice and Austria. Other than religious motives had been imputed to Louis in his attack on the rights of the Huguenots. "The Most Christian King," replied the pope, "is not inspired by political considerations, but by piety, service to God, and zeal for religion."[2] Moreover the pontiff had very definite opinions as to the efficacy of persecution as a means of suppressing heresy, opinions which he expressed in a conversation with queen Christina of Sweden a week before the repeal of the Edict of Nantes: "Heresy is of such a nature that if it be not extinguished, persecution augments rather than diminishes it."[3] Surely anyone thus convinced would not condone the religious persecution to which the French resorted. Since it is to be assumed that the pope was unaware of the impious travesty which in France was termed "conversion," it would be well to examine how the Holy Father came to be misinformed.

The two principal channels through which the pontiff received information regarding France were the apostolic nunciature at Paris and the French embassy in Rome. Inasmuch as the envoys

[2] Duc d'Estrées to Louis, 23 October 1685. *Correspondance de Rome*, 296, f. 212. *Vide infra* page 143, note 32.

[3] *Correspondance de Rome*, 297, f. 225.

of Louis XIV had direct *entrée* to the presence of His Holiness, in contrast to the nuncio's reports to the papal secretariat of state, they shall be given first consideration. An opinion may be formed as to the nature of the details relating to the Huguenots given the pope by the d'Estrées brothers from the instructions sent them. At no time is there the slightest suggestion, in these despatches, that the conversions in any way lacked sincerity. Quotations from the letters of 1 and 8 November and 27 December respectively are typical of the references made to the matter: "The conversion of my subjects of the pretended reformed religion continues with the same success as heretofore. God so visibly blesses my solicitude therein that I have every reason to believe that this great work will soon be consummated by the entire reunion of those who still remain in error. . . . With the exception of a small number of women and gentlemen there remain no more Huguenots in Grenoble or in all Dauphiny. Most of Provence is also converted and in all the other provinces the exhortations of the bishops and the missionaries daily lead a greater number back to the fold. . . . With great success the work of converting the remaining Huguenots of the provinces progresses. From approximately eight or nine thousand in Paris there remain at present only three thousand. Most of these will not persist long in their stubbornness."

Again, on 17 January, in expressing his satisfaction with the words and actions of cardinal d'Estrées on the occasion of the Christmas eve supper at the Vatican, Louis said: "I am convinced that your words relating to the conversion of my subjects will have in no degree diminished the admiration which is due the astonishing rapidity with which God has been pleased to guide my subjects into the bosom of the church. Of the eight or nine hundred thousand souls which were infected with heresy in my realm, scarcely twelve or fifteen hundred remain. Not a day passes but that I learn of the abjurations of some of this small band, wherefor no doubt I shall have the pleasure this year of seeing all my subjects reunited in one belief." In the original draft of the despatch the following significant words were appended, "and in perfect obedience to my authority." However this phrase was deleted in the letter actually sent to Rome. Nor is it likely that this modification was accidental for thus was removed the only reference which appears in the official diplomatic correspondence which might in any way arouse the suspicion that an ulterior motive had actuated the suppression of the privileges of the Huguenots. Since none of the despatches addressed to the Palazzo Farnese gave any hint that the conversions

were insincere, it is hardly necessary to add that none of them alluded to the use of force.

If the d'Estrées brothers themselves knew what was transpiring in France their knowledge was obtained through some unofficial channel. Even did they know, to have informed the pope would have been to have prejudiced their cause needlessly; they were both too well trained in diplomacy to have been guilty of any such blunder. When they addressed His Holiness on the matter of the revocation they undoubtedly presented their case in its most favorable aspects. There was no possibility that Innocent should learn the truth from them. Nor did the cardinal allow his ecclesiastical position to interfere with his duty to Louis XIV. A prince of the church, nevertheless his first loyalty was to the king. Although it was dishonorable to keep the pope in ignorance of the French persecution, it would have been treason to inform him.

Cardinal d'Estrées could well have selected for his device "No man can serve two masters;" he exemplified that motto to perfection. The proof of this statement is to be found in his own letters. On 16 July 1686 he reported a conversation with one of the French agents in Rome, the abbé Servient, through whom he was trying to induce monsignore Casoni to deceive His Holiness on conditions in France. The cardinal explained that if Casoni believed, as he claimed he did, that the pope's peace

of mind and the welfare of the church depended upon the settlement of the outstanding difficulties with France, then it was his duty "to prevent the reading of useless and unpleasant letters to the Holy Father, or at least to suggest that he suspend judgment" and "to divert from his attention those things which might cause qualms of conscience and which were not, after all, of particular consequence."[4] In an interesting seventy-two page report of 14 March 1687, the prelate informed his royal master as to the various means which might be employed to force the pope to accede to Louis' desires. He suggests the seizure of Avignon, threatening the pontiff's relatives with "His Majesty's resentment," complaining to the sacred college, upholding the claims of various Italian princes to papal lands, etc., and concludes: "As a cardinal my passionate desire is always that the pope refrain from giving Your Majesty cause to use such methods; if nothing can be expected from his good intentions, his fear at least should so restrain him that it will not be necessary to carry out these measures." It is interesting to note that Louis did resort to most of them in the following year! Cardinal d'Estrées gave further evidence of his character and interests in a despatch to the king of 18 September 1688. It appears that someone had erroneously informed the pope that the monarch was ill. The cardinal had

[4] *Correspondance de Rome*, 300, f. 56.

reason to suspect signore Lauri, formerly of the Paris nunciature, and advised the king to have mail addressed to Lauri searched, to discover the "infamous correspondent." The most direct channel of information through which Innocent XI could have been informed of conditions in France was closed to him.

The Paris nunciature presented an entirely different situation. Ranuzzi and his assistants wrote voluminous reports to the Vatican and seemingly related everything they knew. Prior to September 1685 there is nothing in any of their despatches which would justify the apprehension of Rome as to the nature of the conversions on the grounds of intimidation. But during and after that month, references to compulsion appear in the correspondence. For instance, on 17 September the nuncio spoke of the abjuration of sixty thousand converts in a few months in the generality of Bordeaux, and added that the troops hitherto lodged there had been removed in accordance with a privilege which His Majesty had granted the new Catholics. A week later he again alludes to the dragonnades, this time still more openly; Ranuzzi reported that it was believed the king intended to send monsieur de Troussé with troops into Dauphiny to frighten the Huguenots and compel them to become Catholics "as is done elsewhere." The nuncio's letter of 8 October carries the information that twenty-

five companies of dragoons had been sent to Lyons to be quartered in the homes of the Protestants there. To none of these reports was there any response on the part of the papal secretariat of state. The significance of this fact will become apparent later.

On 15 October Ranuzzi made his suggestion to the Holy Father that a brief be sent to Louis in appreciation of his zeal for religion. In this despatch not only is there no reference to compulsion, but a statement to the contrary appears, the nuncio informing cardinal Cybo that not only had some four hundred thousand heretics been won over in two months, but those remaining were being followed up in every possible manner, except by "manifest violence," to vanquish their obstinacy. On the same day another letter from the nunciature conveyed an entirely different picture: "As the means practiced heretofore in different parts of the realm have been efficacious in gaining converts, they will be pursued more vigorously in the future. Whence it is said that the same will be done in Paris as elsewhere, namely, the quartering of dragoons and guardsmen in the homes of Huguenots, to live and act as they please until their hosts become Catholics. . . . Since this method of making conversions is disapproved by many, it is felt that a book will soon be published justifying the procedure." And on 26 November a copy of the

new publication, *Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestants avec celle de l'Eglise d'Afrique pour ramener les Donatistes à l'Eglise Catholique,* was forwarded to Rome. On the same day signore Lauri, then in Paris, sent a report to the Vatican in which he gave his opinions as to the reasons for the revocation, stated that force was being used and added that although there were many abjurations there were few conversions.[5] Henceforward the nuncio's despatches contained frequent references to the Huguenot persecution, which was gradually assuming alarming proportions.

All the correspondence of the nuncios was addressed to the papal secretary of state. Obviously the pope saw very few of these reports. He was dependent upon the cardinal secretary, in this case Cybo, for his information. That this prelate was a pensioner of the French crown has been charged;[6] that he was on exceedingly good terms with the brothers d'Estrées is attested by their reports, wherein appear frequent references to the cardinal's attachment to the interests of France. Aside from his official concern as secretary of state, in maintaining cordial relations with Versailles, Cybo had a strong personal reason for fostering

[5] *Nunziatura di Francia,* 172, f. 344.

[6] Gérin says that Cybo had secretly received a pension of four thousand *écus* a year even before he had become secretary of state. "La disgrace de M. de Pomponne," *Revue des Questions Historiques,* XXIII, 13.

Franco-Roman amity. Most of his income was derived from Avignon, and Louis' unfriendliness toward the pope constituted a serious threat against the continued possession of that territory by the Holy See. When in fact French troops did occupy the Comtat in 1688, cardinal Cybo complained energetically to cardinal d'Estrées and secretly wrote him a letter protesting his loyalty to the Grand Monarch. This epistle is most significant in the light of Innocent's lack of information regarding conditions in France: "I confess to Your Eminence that I should voluntarily shed what blood I have in my veins if it would reëstablish amicable relations between the Holy Father and His Most Christian Majesty, to whom I am deeply indebted and whose royal gratitude I have ever sought to merit. Foreseeing what might follow, I have always tried in the course of my twelve years' service to His Holiness to divert every difficulty between them. This is known to all the court and every one else well informed of the truth. I acted in the same manner at this morning's consistory but a minister can't obtain, in the course of time, what a royal ambassador and others fail to get. Your Eminence appreciates the circumspection with which I must restrain myself, lest I become more suspected than I am already." This letter closes with an appeal to the cardinal to render him the

justice which hitherto he had received from both brothers.[7]

Naturally cardinal Cybo, knowing Innocent's temperament and particularly his gentleness, realized that the pope could not be expected to condone the forceful measures undertaken by the French authorities to coerce the Huguenots into rendering a lip-service to the church, and pretending to be converted. That a condemnation of these proceedings would be exceedingly distasteful to the Grand Monarch was also apparent to the astute secretary of state. There was only one way in which Cybo could be certain that the pontiff would remain silent on the matter and that was to withhold the information which he alone had. No evidence has been found which proves that the cardinal deliberately suppressed the reports of the Paris nuncio. It is a plausible assumption, though not an established fact, that the pope was kept in ignorance for a time by Cybo. The cardinal admitted his devotion to Louis XIV and his solicitude for "diverting difficulties." And the fact that no comment was made by the secretary of state in reply to the nuncio's information relating to the use of force strengthens the case against Cybo.

To keep Innocent from ever learning of the dragonnades and the use of similar agencies in

[7] 16 October 1688. *Correspondance de Rome*, 316, f. 103.

propagating the faith in France was not to be expected. But if such knowledge could be withheld from him until after the pope had publicly congratulated the king on his great accomplishment, the likelihood that the pontiff would do anything which might embarrass his secretary of state would doubtless be diminished. Whether or not Cybo reasoned in this manner, the result was the same. Several months passed before Innocent seems to have been aware of the French situation. Fate played into the hands of those who were anxious to keep him in the dark, for early in December he fell ill and for four months was unable to grant audiences, save to a few of his ministers. During a part of this time he was totally incapacitated, consequently everything was postponed which could possibly wait. When the pope had regained his strength and resumed his duties, it could be only a matter of time until he should become aware of the Huguenot persecution.

That word should come directly from France was not to be expected. In the first place most Frenchmen, laity as well as clergy, quite approved of what was being done. Those who were opposed to the royal policy little expected to find sympathy at Rome and consequently would not have been disposed to seek assistance there, even had such been possible. But there was still another reason why

the pope received no information from the scene of action: the French bishops were not permitted to correspond directly with the Holy See. They all owed their positions to the crown and most of them were too subservient to its interests to protest to Rome, even had it been possible. Since the only medium by which the Gallican episcopate could express itself to the Holy Father was the regular channel of the foreign office, it is not surprising that Innocent XI learned nothing from them. Nevertheless it was not long before denunciations did begin to pour into Rome and although none came from France, nearly every other part of Europe protested. Not that the excitement was caused by compassion for the hardships to which the Huguenots were subjected, but rather because it was feared that the various Protestant states would retaliate upon their Catholic subjects.

The first evidence of this apprehension is found in a despatch from monsignore Visconti, nuncio at Cologne, dated 4 November 1685, stating that the Jesuits had been expelled from most parts of Holland because of the exclusion of Huguenot pastors from France.[8] Again on 2 December he mentioned a report from the United Provinces that it was desired to prohibit Catholic worship there, particularly in Zealand, since the Huguenots had been deprived of their religious freedom. Three weeks

[8] *Nunziatura di Colonia*, 62, f. 560.

later the nuncio wrote of the loss of liberty suffered by the Catholics of Holland and Brandenburg. On 27 January Visconti once more calls attention to the many hardships suffered by the Catholic subjects of neighboring Protestant princes since the expulsion of the Huguenots from France. Moreover from Brussels the internuncio, monsignore Tanari, sent word on 28 December: "Although the Dutch Catholics have generously contributed alms to maintain the Huguenot refugees, they have nevertheless been persecuted, the old penalties being executed vigorously in some cities and the missionaries being exiled."[9] Subsequent letters from the internuncio pointed out that the danger of a Catholic persecution in Holland increased in proportion to the number of refugees from France. Even earlier monsignore d'Adda, the papal representative at the court of St. James', had informed the Vatican that the Catholic missionaries in Holland were in danger as a result of the agitation caused by the Huguenot *émigrés*.[10] On 14 December d'Adda reported a conversation with James II in which His Majesty spoke of writing to the prince of Orange in behalf of the latter's Catholic subjects.

The eagerness with which the Holy See came to the support of the Dutch Catholics and the en-

[9] *Nunziatura di Fiandra,* 75, f. 672.

[10] 10 December 1685. *Nunziatura d'Inghilterra,* 10, f. 44.

ergy with which it sought to ameliorate their condition suggest that Innocent himself must have been aware of their predicament. It is possible that this led to his discovery of the true state of affairs in France. As soon as the pope learned of the threatened persecution in Holland, he appealed to the king of Spain to instruct his governor in Flanders to intercede with the prince of Orange.[11] The imperial resident at the Hague, von Camprich, had likewise intervened in behalf of his coreligionists and had been warmly commended by the pontiff for his action. Innocent thanked the emperor and urged him to encourage his representative to continue his efforts.[12] By June 1686 the danger of a Catholic persecution in Holland had subsided; yet when von Camprich informed the internuncio at Brussels of the death of the vicar apostolic of the United Provinces, he took occasion to mention the difficulties facing the Dutch church. At this time the imperial resident again referred to the cause of the trouble—the treatment of the Huguenots of France and Savoy.[13]

For the pope to have been kept in ignorance of the true nature of the French conversions indefinitely was practically impossible. After His Holiness had recovered from his illness, was again re-

[11] 13 January 1686. *Nunziatura di Spagna,* 356, f. 691.
[12] 24 February 1686. *Nunziatura di Germania,* 212, f. 112.
[13] 11 June 1686. *Congregazioni Particolari, tomo XI,* 29, f. 525.

ceiving foreign representatives, and carrying on the functions of his office, he was bound to learn the truth. There were too many people in Rome unfriendly to the Grand Monarch to let pass such an opportunity to criticize his policy. Queen Christina was most outspoken in her denunciation of the Huguenot persecution, and the ambassadors of Spain and Austria had everything to gain and nothing to lose by informing the pontiff. What was his attitude toward these forced conversions when he did learn of them? Fortunately there is so much evidence on this subject, coming from such widely differing sources, and each bit contributing to the same answer, that there can be but one possible conclusion--Innocent XI disapproved the treatment of the French Protestants. In substantiation of this statement will be presented, first, the opinions of trustworthy contemporaries who were in positions to know something of the pope's point of view; second, several acts of His Holiness in which he indicated his sentiments; third, Innocent's disdain for insincere conversions; fourth, several unofficial utterances of pontifical opinion; and fifth, the Holy Father's own words on the matter.

There are three contemporaries of Innocent XI who were in a position to know something of his opinions; none had any reason to misrepresent them, and each has left a record. Two of these,

Girolamo Venier, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, and queen Christina, did not write for publication. Although the same cannot be said of the abbé Le Gendre, nevertheless the memoirs of that cleric did not appear until several years after the pope's death and there seems to be an honest intention in his treatment of the pontiff. Venier's statement was made in the *relazione* which he submitted to the Senate on the expiration of his mission to Versailles. As he had been at the French court from 1682 until 1688, he was present at the time of the revocation. He does not tell whence he derived his information, but he characterizes the pope's opinion in this manner: "Although meritorious, the court of Rome abstained from praising the measures taken against the Huguenots, proclaiming the impropriety of using armed apostles as missionaries, and showing this new method not to be best since Christ had not adopted it to convert the world. Moreover it was an inappropriate time to gain heretics when the controversies with the pope were at their height."[14] It will be seen at once that this statement is not entirely correct. But it must be recalled that it was written three years after the abrogation itself and represents the ambassador's summary of the whole situation. The papal brief of approbation, about which Venier of

[14] *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato,* series 2, *Francia,* III, 467.

course knew, apparently appeared so insignificant to him in relation to Innocent's disapproval of the forced conversions that he did not consider it worth mention.

Queen Christina had even more to say and was in a position to be better informed. Residing in Rome, she kept herself *au courant* as to everything which transpired at the Vatican. She was remarkably tolerant in her religious views and, on being requested by a French courtier, the chevalier de Terlon, to express her sentiments regarding the extirpation of heresy in France, seized the opportunity to condemn the whole proceeding. "The interest of the Roman church," concludes her letter to Terlon, "is without doubt as dear to me as life itself, but it is this same interest which causes me to see these things with grief, and I tell you that I love France well enough to mourn over the desolation of so fine a kingdom. I hope with all my heart that I may be wrong in my conjectures and that all may end to the greater glory of God and the king, your master; I am sure you will not doubt my sincerity."[15] Somehow or other this epistle fell into the hands of the publicist Pierre Bayle, and appeared in his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Consequently Christina wrote a second

[15] 2 February 1686. Arkenholtz, *Mémoires concernant Christine*, II, 230; and IV, 124; Bain, *Christina*, 337. The latter dates the letter 3 February. It is also to be found in Puaux, *Histoire de l'établissement des Protestants français en Suède*, 183.

letter expressing surprise that the first had been made public, but not regretting the fact. "I am not sorry for having written it," she says, "for I fear no one, and I pray God with all my heart that this false triumph of the church will not one day cost her real tears. However, to the credit of Rome it must be said that all who are here of good sense and worth, who are animated by true zeal, are not duped by France in this regard any more than I; and they, as I, look with pity on all that occurs in the world. . . ."[16]

Christina would hardly have said all sensible and worthwhile men in Rome shared her point of view, had she not included His Holiness. Had it been her intention to exclude him from the generalization, she probably would have named him. This point is substantiated by a third letter of 6 July addressed to her representative at the Hague, sieur de Brémond.[17] In this the queen expresses her pleasure to learn the effect, favorable to Catholicism, produced in Holland by her first letter. But she states her doubt that it has been very great, for she believes that the Roman celebrations will have aroused antagonism. Christina then apprised Brémond that the ascendency of France which had caused the festivities had not prevented Innocent

[16] 18 May 1686. Arkenholtz, *op. cit.*, II, 234; Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales, 29.*

[17] Arkenholtz, *op. cit.*, IV, 133.

from rendering her epistle the justice due it. But, continued the queen, His Holiness was over-careful not to offend the Grand Monarch, and since appearances were in his favor, the celebrations were permitted while more substantial concessions were refused. In other words, the Swedish princess saw the pontiff as opposed to the French persecution, but unable to speak for reasons of policy.

Abbé Le Gendre likewise bears witness to Innocent's opposition, but seeks to attribute it to an entirely different cause. This fiery Gallican asserts that, however incredible it may seem, at Rome scarcely anyone rejoiced over the suppression of heresy in France. "Innocent XI less than any other," he added, "excusing himself by saying that he could approve neither the motive nor the methods of these conversions by thousands, where none were voluntary."[18] Le Gendre points out how unlike the attitude of earlier popes was that of Innocent and concludes by mentioning the differences which had grown up between France and the Holy See.

Numerous contemporary writers expressed opinions regarding the reaction of the Holy Father to the French situation, but most of them are not to be taken seriously. In this regard more will be said in the next chapter. Of far greater importance

[18] Le Gendre, *Mémoires*, 67.

to an understanding of Innocent's attitude than the testimony of others were certain of his own acts which speak for themselves. In this connection the pope's treatment of Etienne Le Camus stands out.

Much has been written in an attempt to vindicate various members of the French episcopate for their attitude toward the religious persecution following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. None of this distinguished group holds a more enviable position in the eyes of posterity than prince-bishop Le Camus of Grenoble. Not only has his reputation been entirely free from the charge of participating in, or condoning, the measures taken against the Huguenots, but he has been praised by Protestant writers as condemning them.[19] Not that the bishop believed in religious toleration as a principle. To expect such a thing from a seventeenth-century cleric of almost any denomination would be an anachronism. Etienne Le Camus was as enthusiastic as any of his confrères in the applause which he gave the abrogation of the ordinances permitting the Huguenots to practice their religion unmolested, but that was as far as he cared to go in the matter. The use of force in gaining adherents to Catholicism was en-

[19] Arnaud, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné,* III, 39; Puaux, "Ephémérides de l'année . . . ," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français,* XXXIV, 184; Sismondi, *Histoire des Français,* XXV, 552; Spanheim, *Relation,* 267; Wellwood, *L'histoire du temps,* I, 235.

tirely repugnant to him. He bitterly opposed the dragonnades and was instrumental in securing the withdrawal from Grenoble of troops sent there to intimidate the Huguenots.[20] This attitude on the part of Le Camus did not increase his popularity at court. In the fall of 1685 charges were made to the nuncio that the bishop was permitting Huguenots to enter the church without making the customary profession of faith.[21] An investigation cleared him of the accusation and in the promotion of 1686, Innocent XI elevated him to the dignity of cardinal. This was a shock to Louis XIV. Not only did Le Camus lack the royal nomination; the crown had not even been consulted in the matter. And to make the situation worse, the bishop of Beauvais, the royal candidate, was ignored.

To claim that the promotion of Le Camus was primarily a recognition of his opposition to the persecution of the Huguenots would be ridiculous. The bishop of Grenoble merited his new dignity by his fine qualities of mind and character. Moreover, while refraining from a too open statement of his opinions, he was known to have sympathized

[20] There is an interesting correspondence between Le Camus and Louvois on this subject, parts of which have been published in: "Correspondance inédite de Le Camus," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français,* III, 583; *Lettres du cardinal Le Camus,* ed. by Ingold; Bellet, *Histoire du cardinal Le Camus,* 367; Jager, *Histoire de l'Eglise,* XVII, 328; Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois,* III, 495, note 1.

[21] 5 November 1685. *Nunziatura di Francia,* 172A, f. 368.

with the pope in the struggle over the *régale* and to have opposed the four articles of 1682. This fact had naturally redounded to his credit at Rome. But it must be recalled that his actions in connection with the Huguenots had already been scrutinized by the Vatican and that his elevation had been entirely on the initiative of the pontiff.

Happily the question can be more definitely settled, for on 28 April 1687 cardinal Le Camus issued a pastoral letter to his clergy instructing them in the manner of dealing with the so-called "newly converted." In this epistle the *curés* are charged to abstain from any form of coercion in their treatment of the former Huguenots. The document is too long to quote in its entirety, nor is there any reason for so doing, since excerpts will illustrate its tenor. "God wishes the service rendered him to be voluntary. . . . Remember that the maladies of the soul are not cured in a moment, nor by constraint nor violence, but rather by the fervor of prayer and the gentle promptings of truth and charity. To gain their confidence and to bring them to love the Roman church tell them what St. Augustine told the Manichaeans to induce them by kindness sincerely to reënter the unity of the Catholic church: 'Let those treat you with rigor who know not how difficult it is to discover the truth and to avoid errors; who ignore how

painful it is to elevate one's self above the prejudices with which one has been filled; who do not appreciate the great difficulties involved in purifying the eye of the inner man and rendering it capable of seeing the truth, which is the sun of the soul. But for ourselves, we are far from wishing to follow this conduct toward persons separated from us, not by errors of their own invention, but finding themselves involved in the mistakes of others. On the contrary, we offer our prayers to God that in refuting the false opinions of those whom you pursue with a preoccupation which we condemn, rather as imprudent than malicious, He will grant you the grace to carry to them only a spirit of peace, affected neither by impressions other than those of charity, nor by interests other than those of Jesus Christ, nor by desires other than those of your salvation.' " [22]

The effect produced by this pastoral can easily be imagined. It would have been impossible for its author to have been more outspoken without exposing himself to grave danger of the royal wrath. At once a protest was raised by the court prelates. Le Camus was accused of diluting Catholic doctrine to make it more acceptable to Protestants. These charges were carried to Rome,

[22] *Lettre de monseigneur le cardinal Le Camus aux curez de son diocèse.* The pastoral letter, together with the papal brief of commendation, is published in Bellet, *op. cit.*, 370. The brief may also be found in *Innocentii PP. XI epistolae ad principes*, II, 364.

where cardinal d'Estrées attempted to uphold His Eminence of Grenoble to the soon apparent disgust of the king. On 17 October 1687 His Most Christian Majesty instructed d'Estrées to let Le Camus extricate himself from the embarrassing situation wherein he had voluntarily placed himself. However, cardinal Le Camus needed no assistance. When he saw the storm of disapproval which greeted his pastoral letter he at once contrived to send it, together with his other writings, to Rome. Whereupon the pontiff wrote him a brief of commendation, stating that he had taken no notice of the charges made against him and even going so far as to refer to the allegations as "the vain calumnies of a group of ignoramuses." Again on 27 January 1688 Innocent XI addressed to cardinal Le Camus an epistle full of admiration and commendation.[23]

These letters from the pontiff can signify but one thing: Innocent shared Le Camus' point of view with regard to the Huguenots. A deduction which would have been possible since the red hat had been conferred upon the prelate becomes imperative in consequence of the papal approbation of the cardinal's instructions to his clergy. There are likewise two other instances when the Holy See is said to have given evidence of its lack of sympathy

[23] *Innocentii PP. XI epistolae ad principes,* II, 383.

with Louis' treatment of the Huguenots. Neither of these is as convincing as the case already cited, since both are acts of pontifical agents rather than of the pope himself. Moreover, because of the loss of important documents, the details cannot now be authenticated; nevertheless they will be related.

It has been alleged by two historians that the nuncio in London besought James II to intercede with the Grand Monarch in favor of ameliorating the condition of the Huguenots lest the position of Catholics in Protestant states be compromised.[24] In neither case is a reference given as to the source whence the author derives his information. Furthermore nothing is to be found in the despatches of monsignore d'Adda to cardinal Cybo which confirms or refutes the statement. The situation is further complicated by the gaps in the correspondence of the London nunciature. If the assertion be true, one more bit of evidence is added to the thesis that Innocent disapproved the persecution, since the nuncio would not have dared express himself on such a grave matter without being certain of his ground.

The other incident to which reference has been made is the treatment accorded the Huguenot refugees by the papal authorities of Avignon. Here again there is a dearth of documentary proof, as

[24] Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation française*, IV, 347; Mazure, *Histoire de la révolution de 1688*, II, 126.

the correspondence between Avignon and Rome is missing for the period 1679 to 1689. Nevertheless there are several illuminating references to the Comtat in the despatches of the French foreign office and the Venetian embassy. Immediately preceding the revocation Louis had considered it necessary to address a protest to the vice-legate of Avignon referring to his efforts to convert all the heretics and to his edict prohibiting the latter to leave the realm. "Nevertheless," concludes the royal complaint, "those who pass into the Comtat find there a safe retreat, which obliges me to write you this letter to exhort you to employ all your resources and all the pope's authority to compel them to return immediately to their homes. I trust that you will not force me to complain to His Holiness and to adopt other means to remedy this disorder."[25] On 7 November 1685 signore Venier informed the Senate that there were loud and general complaints against the policy of the vice-legate who was accused of giving asylum to the fleeing Huguenots. Ranuzzi denied these rumors, continued the ambassador, alleging that he had the assurance of the vice-legate, monsignore Cenci, to the effect that no *émigrés* were permitted to remain in the territory for a longer period than three days.[26]

[25] 17 October 1685. *Correspondance de Rome*, 297, f. 214.

[26] Layard, "The revocation of the Edict of Nantes illustrated from State Papers in the Archives of Venice," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, II, 130.

A court diarist, on 17 November, recorded the fact that the comte de Tessé, one of the military commanders in the south, notoriously involved in the dragonnades, had threatened to enter Avignon to make a search for runaway Huguenots and that Cenci had been obliged to post placards ordering them to leave the papal domain at once.[27] The threat sufficed, for the vice-legate in a letter of 25 October assured the king of his coöperation. Obviously Cenci was in no position to do other than comply with the royal commands. But the mere fact that he had permitted the Huguenots to enter the Comtat, and that he did not expel them until he was compelled, may be significant. Moreover Cenci had just arrived in Avignon from Rome in the fall of 1685, which would further imply that he knew the pope's mind on such matters. As newly appointed vice-legate it had been very unlikely that he would have deliberately acted in such a manner as to bring disfavor upon himself. All of which is consistent with the opinion that the forced conversions of Louis XIV were displeasing to the Holy See.

Another illustration of the light in which Innocent must have regarded the Huguenot persecution appears in an exchange of letters between the nun-

[27] Griselle, "Avant et après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français,* LVII, 89.

cio at Cologne and cardinal Cybo in April, May and June of 1688. In these despatches is contained the description of a situation wherein the pope was called upon, in a very practical sense, for his opinion with regard to insincere conversions. Innocent was given an opportunity to make a bargain which undoubtedly would have been profitable to the church, but desirable as was the end, the means to attain it were dishonest, and Innocent refused to condone hypocrisy. Although his decision was probably instrumental in altering the course of history for at least two countries, its relevance to the subject under discussion is in the corollary derived from it, rather than the decision itself.

On 18 April monsignore Visconti made the following amazing report to his chief: "Cardinal von Fürstemberg has informed me in the strictest confidence that having spoken of religion, on different occasions, with the duke and duchess of Hanover, he has found them to be convinced that anyone leading a good life can gain eternal salvation, whether he be Catholic or Lutheran. Consequently His Eminence believes that it would not be difficult to dispose them to embrace our holy faith if they could be offered some temporal gain. This opinion has been corroborated by a conversation which he held a few days past with count, formerly abbé, Ballati, the envoy of Hanover, who

declared openly that the duke and duchess would become Catholics with all their family, if their house were raised to the electoral dignity. The cardinal knows that such a motive, arising from pure interest rather than promptings of conscience or a spirit of devotion, is not praiseworthy; nevertheless beside the hope that these princes after embracing the true religion would form more laudable sentiments, it would be certain that the conversion of the sons would assure the free exercise of the holy faith in the states of Luneburg forever, and would serve ultimately in the propagation of Catholicism . . ." Cybo replied on 19 May that this was not the first time that the duke of Hanover had considered entering the church, that hitherto the price demanded had been temporal sovereignty over the diocese of Osnabrück, which demonstrated that the inspiration came, not from God, but from ambition. Consequently his conversion could never be sincere.

Meanwhile cardinal von Fürstemberg again discussed the situation with the envoy, suggesting to him that the duke and duchess should carry out their intention by secretly becoming Catholics and thus would they not only insure their eternal salvation, but they would dispose the pope, the emperor and the king of France in their favor to a greater extent than if they entered the church for a

compensation. To this letter the cardinal secretary of state replied that Fürstemberg had shown his customary and exceptional prudence in the advice he had given Ballati, and added: "His Eminence must continue ever to speak in the same manner, and if the occasion presents itself to impress upon the duke that conversions, to be sincere and of value, must find their sole impulse in a desire for salvation, having no mixture of human interest."[28] But decisive as had been this answer, the matter was not permitted to drop until a last attempt had been made. On 30 May the nuncio again wrote, this time introducing a new element into the situation. Two of the duke's sons were said to be ready to enter the church as soon as their father would consent. Both were officers in the forces fighting the Turks, and one, Karl, was reputed to have leanings toward the ecclesiastical state. It was proposed that if the coadjutorship of Hildesheim were given him, his abjuration of heresy would be assured. Cardinal von Fürstemberg sympathized with the scheme "for the best interests of religion." But the Holy See remained adamant. On 19 June Cybo commended Visconti for telling Ballati that conversions finding their origin in material considerations were neither sincere nor useful to the church and concluded: "The pope has instructed

[28] 22 May 1688. *Nunziatura di Colonia*, 60, f. 27.

me to confirm all that I have hitherto written you on this subject, adding that it is necessary according to the teachings of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover prince Karl, now in the imperial army, although fighting a holy war, doesn't appear to be following a very appropriate preparation for the ecclesiastical vocation."

Thus were terminated negotiations which, with a little encouragement from the Vatican, would possibly have succeeded in gaining for Catholicism the reigning house of Hanover.[29] Had the conscience of Innocent XI been as callous as that of the cardinal of Strasbourg, he might have winked at the hypocrisy of the ducal offer. As it happened the pontiff showed in no uncertain manner his repugnance to insincere conversions.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the pope's own words regarding the subject it will be necessary to examine briefly another matter which indirectly throws some light upon the situation.

It will be recalled that on 23 January 1688 advocate general Talon of the Parlement of Paris had addressed that body protesting against the excommunication of the marquis de Lavardin. In the course of his oration Talon had insinuated that the pope was not in sympathy with Louis' great

[29] In passing it is interesting to note that had this occurred the Hanoverian house would have been barred from succession to the English throne by the Act of Settlement of 1701.

accomplishments for religion. It has been mentioned that the congregation of the Holy Office censured this discourse, explicitly condemning eighteen propositions contained therein.[30] No reference was made by the congregation to the allusion to the Huguenot persecution. It does not necessarily follow that the Holy Office tacitly admitted the truth of Talon's implication, yet it is noteworthy that no denial was made; moreover an anonymous reply to the speech of the advocate general appeared at Rome. Whether or not the *Refutation du plaidoyer de monsieur Talon* was originally published in the Eternal City, the fact that it was freely circulated there and translated into Latin clearly demonstrates the popularity which it enjoyed at the Vatican. Cardinal d'Estrées in a despatch dated 4 May informed his royal master that the sacred palace "exalted it extremely, considering it to be unanswerable," and suggested the advisability of a reply. The unnamed author of this pamphlet says: "M. Talon treats the Holy Father as the enemy of France, stubborn, friendly to all who oppose the name French, abettor of heretics, and particularly of Jansenists and Quietists." Then he strives to clear Innocent of all the charges save that having to do with heretics. Here again there is proof of nothing, but the omission

[30] *Vide supra* page 45.

is significant and seems to strengthen the assumption that the pope disapproved the persecution, that the writer knew it and thought it best to omit mention of the matter.

Innocent's own words alone remain to establish the authenticity of this opposition to forced conversions, which is borne out by his acts and the opinions of others. Among the papers of cardinal Filippo Gualterio, nuncio at Paris from 1700 until 1706, which are now to be found in the British Museum, is a document entitled "Designs of Messrs. Favoriti and Casoni against His Majesty proven by the letters and papers of Messrs. Arnauld, Quesnel, du Vaucel, Doret and others, 1704." Because of the great significance of the content of this manuscript and since it has never been published, it seems advisable to quote from it all that pertains to the revocation.[31] "In these terms the pope expressed himself to the deputy of Holland, who had come for the election of the famous archbishop of Sebaste: 'The nuncio whom we sent to Nimwegen to protect the Dutch Catholics is a proof of the paternal interest which we have for you. Moreover we have advised cardinal d'Estrées to entreat the king to obtain from the States General [of the United Provinces], the same lib-

[31] MS. 20401, No. 16. In Jervis, *The Gallican Church,* II, 73, several sentences from this document are quoted. Since Jervis erroneously states that the report in question was sent by Innocent XI to cardinal Gualterio, it seems unlikely that he saw the MS.

erty for the Catholics of all the provinces as that enjoyed by those of Amsterdam. His Majesty is much more solicitous of advantages for his realm than for the Kingdom of God.' 'On this occasion,' continued the deputy, 'the pope told me many other things about the king of France in terms which indicated injured feelings. "True it is that he has driven the Huguenots from France," he added, "but he did so for purely political reasons rather than a zeal for religion.[32] We gave cardinal d'Estrées to understand as much when he presented us with the royal edict wherein the reason for expelling the Huguenots was stated by the king to have been his wish for but one religion in his kingdom. Your sovereign, we told the cardinal, ought not to have said: 'We wish but one religion in our kingdom,' since heretical princes likewise want but one in their estates. What he should have said is: 'We do not desire to tolerate in our realm other than the one true religion.' Thus he had shown his subjects and all posterity that his belief was the true one. Furthermore we do not approve in any sense these forced conversions, which as a rule are

[32] This statement is diametrically opposed to others which Innocent uttered in 1685, *vide supra* page 110. There is not sufficient evidence at hand to explain the discrepancy. The pope may have been misquoted in the Gualterio manuscript, or it is possible that in talking to the Dutch deputy, influenced by later information, Innocent may have fancied that this was actually what he had said three years earlier. It is to be recalled that he was seventy-seven years of age at this time.

not sincere, as appears to be the case with the Vaudois who are at present rebelling against the duke of Savoy." ' 'These were his exact words,' said the deputy, 'for I was careful to retain them. I recall something else which he said on the same subject: "It is a great misfortune for the king that all his measures are successful. He has already received his reward." ' Thus spoke a pope who every one knew said only what Casoni advised. 'Monsignore Casoni,' continued the deputy, 'had as much good will toward us as he had influence with the Holy Father.' "

The importance of the information contained in this manuscript is apparent. The location of the original document written by the "Dutch deputy" is unknown. Cardinal Gualterio's copy closes with this sentence: "Confidence may be placed in what has been cited from this memoir, since it is taken from the original manuscript which I had in my hands when I was in Holland, where it may still be seen." Since the original memorial has not been discovered, an attempt will be made to authenticate its contents. If it could be proven that a deputy of Holland had gone to Rome in connection with the election of the archbishop of Sebaste, and that this individual had been in touch with Casoni, the essential facts of the case could be

established. This has been accomplished, as will be demonstrated.

First with regard to "the deputy of Holland" and the archbishop of Sebaste, some explanations are necessary. It will be recalled that in discussing the possibility of retaliatory measures in Holland as a result of the revocation, the imperial resident in a note to the internuncio at Brussels had mentioned the death of the vicar apostolic of the United Provinces.[33] Holland being a predominantly Protestant country, the organization of the Catholic church there was under the jurisdiction of the congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* at Rome. This body was empowered to nominate a successor to the deceased prelate and to it was addressed a petition on behalf of the Dutch clergy, recommending certain candidates for the vacant post. The petition was signed by two priests, Theodore Cock and Geoffrey Loesti, "representing together the clergy of all the seven provinces."[34]

On 27 September 1688 Peter Codde was named vicar apostolic of Holland by the congregation. Apparently the titular see of Sebaste was conferred on the new prelate, for he is referred to in a rescript of the Propaganda to the Holy Office, dated 16 November, as "monsignore Peter Codde, archbishop of Sebaste and vicar apostolic of the

[33] *Vide supra* page 123.
[34] *Congregazioni Particolari, tomo XI,* vol. 29, f. 518.

United Provinces."[35] Thus is established the connection between "Sebaste" and Dutch affairs. But of greater significance is the authentication of the fact that Theodore Cock was in Rome in the autumn of 1688. In the archives of the Propaganda is preserved a note signed by the secretary of the congregation and addressed to the archivist, instructing the latter to consign to Father Theodore Cock the decrees of the Propaganda relating to Holland. This order was dated 30 September 1688.[36] Likewise a despatch from cardinal d'Estrées to Louis XIV attests the presence of a Dutch religious in Rome at this time and further substantiates the whole episode by linking this cleric with Casoni. The cardinal wrote: "Through a religious from Holland, who came last year with letters from several missionaries who have been led to believe that the States General would accord freedom of conscience to Catholics, Casoni has entered negotiations with an agent of the prince of Orange. This agent encouraged the said religious to think that the prince highly respected the pontiff and would do a great deal for him. These negotiations have been recently renewed."[37] Evidence cannot be offered to prove that Cock was granted an audience by the Holy Father, but the combina-

[35] *Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, anno 1688,* f. 173.

[36] *Congregazioni Particolari, tomo XI,* vol. 29, f. 584.

[37] 16 November 1688. *Correspondance de Rome,* 316, f. 302.

tion of circumstances which attended his visit to the Eternal City, the distance he had travelled, the particular condition then facing the church in Holland, the nature of his business in Rome, his character as a representative of the Dutch clergy, all increase the likelihood of his having been received by the pope. The words which, according to the Gualterio manuscript, the pontiff uttered on this occasion agree entirely with the opinions of Venier, Christina and Le Gendre and are thoroughly consistent with Innocent's attitude toward Le Camus. Furthermore similar sentiments are expressed in a long letter which His Holiness wrote to emperor Leopold at about the same time.

In this epistle Innocent XI narrates all his grievances against Louis XIV and takes occasion to refer to the Huguenot persecution.[38] "He [the king] prides himself on having contributed with all his power to the conservation of the rights of the Holy See and to the increase of the number of Catholics, in that he has brought several million to reënter the bosom of the church. To be sure this number would be considerable if the conversions

[38] *Lettre du pape Innocent XI à l'empereur Léopold.* Although the letter was published in 1688 it must have had a very limited circulation for it is not mentioned by any of the contemporary writers, and has been ignored by all but one historian, Bellet, *op. cit.*, 276 and 377. He apparently was unaware that a copy exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale for he acknowledged the assistance of the French ambassador in Vienna in procuring for him a transcript of the original MS., which is preserved in the national library there.

had been made by the holy and pious exhortations of his clergy rather than by violence and by the fury of his soldiers. For what likelihood is there that conversions obtained by torture are real conversions? We have wept, we have bemoaned them instead of rejoicing in them. The horrible thought of so many sacrileges which have been committed will cause me to shudder for the rest of my days. If I may be allowed to express myself I do not know whether I should not despair of the salvation of a Christian who thus abuses the power of his arms by turning to ridicule all the mysteries of religion. Who, I ask of you, will be responsible for so many forced communions, for the abominable ignominies suffered by the sacred Body of Jesus in all these profanations committed on the Eucharist? Who will be responsible for so many unbelievers approaching the holy altars with pale, disfigured countenances and hypocritical reproving consciences? Would it not have been a thousand times better for the glory of the name of Jesus and for the salvation of so many souls to whom God will not grant grace since they are impious and sin against the Holy Ghost, would it not have been better to have left them in their former complete liberty rather than to have made them fall into this callousness from which they will never be able to extricate themselves?"

On still another occasion Innocent alluded to the Huguenots in a manner which might be interpreted as sympathetic to their condition. Lord Howard, the British envoy at the Vatican, had just offered the services of James II as arbiter of the difficulties separating Louis XIV and the Holy See in 1688. The pontiff, complaining to the Englishman of the affronts he had received from His Most Christian Majesty, said that the king "had treated the visible head of the church as he did the Huguenots of his realm."[39] His Holiness added that in threatening to send a fleet against him as he had against the Algerian pirates, Louis scandalized and horrified even these infidels. The former reference does not prove that the pope condemned the persecution any more than the latter does that he opposed the attack on the pirates, but in the light of his other remarks, it may well be taken as substantiating his disavowal of the Grand Monarch's coercive measures against his dissenting subjects.

But one conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of Innocent's remarks with regard to the maltreatment of the Huguenots, his contempt for hypocrisy in religion, and his approbation of the attitude taken by cardinal Le Camus. The pope disapproved heartily of the forced conversions. Not that Innocent XI believed in religious tolera-

[39] Descriptions of this audience were sent to both Ranuzzi and d'Adda in despatches of 3 August 1688.

tion in the twentieth-century sense of the term; it is certain that he did not. Yet he realized that compulsion was an ineffectual proselyting agency and that not only the individual but the church as well might suffer dire consequences. "Would it not have been better to have left them in their complete liberty?" In these words his judgment is summed up. Nothing remains to be added which can further elucidate this matter; nevertheless a study will be made of the views expressed by contemporary publicists who sought to explain Innocent's position and in so doing furnished the opinions which later historians have popularized.

CHAPTER VI

INNOCENT'S ATTITUDE AS SEEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES

It is interesting to learn what the seventeenth-century creators of public opinion thought regarding the attitude of Innocent XI toward the revocation and its consequences. Most of their writings, to be sure, are not to be taken too seriously, for obviously it was highly improbable that men far removed from the center of the stage, or men prejudiced against the pontiff, would have been likely to contribute anything of primary significance to the subject. Yet the opinions expressed by Innocent's contemporaries have been frequently accepted by later historians and furnish, in large part, the basis for most of the erroneous information which has been perpetuated. These early works fall logically into four groups, each of which will be considered in turn: first, the Italian biographers and witnesses in the pope's beatification process; second, the French pamphleteers subsidized by the crown and encouraged to blacken the reputation of Innocent; third, the Huguenot *émigrés* and their partisans; and last, Catholic apologists for the pope's conduct.

Two biographies of Innocent XI appeared within six years of his death. Both were brief panegyrics; neither made the slightest reference to Louis XIV, the Huguenots or the revocation![1] A third was written a few years later, but was not published until the nineteenth century. The author of the latter praises His Most Christian Majesty for his achievement, compulsion and all, and concludes by stating that the pope had lauded these glorious acts in consistory, by public demonstrations and by briefs.[2] Two more contemporary manuscript lives speak in a similar tone, the first claiming that the pontiff had contributed to the peace of Nimwegen and the abrogation of the Edict of Nantes, while the second testifies to his "incredible happiness" on learning of Louis' action, and mentions the various papal manifestations of joy.[3] It is significant that Innocent's confessor, Lodovico Marracci, made no reference to the matter in the biographical sketch which he composed.[4]

With the exception of the last, none of the *vite* are of value to this study. The authors merely recount the principal events of the pontificate as

[1] Albrizzi, *Vita del sempre glorioso Innocenzo undecimo,* Venice 1695; Pittone, *Vita del Papa Innocenzo XI,* Venice, 1692.

[2] Lippi, *Vita di Papa Innocenzo XI,* 68.

[3] *Saggio istorico,* (MS., Odescalchi); *Vita Anonima d'Innocenzo XI,* (MS., Odescalchi). The first is undated, but is classified among seventeenth-century writings; Berthier publishes the second in the appendix of his edition of Lippi, *op. cit.*

[4] *Vita Innocentii papae XI exarata a p. Ludovico Marracci qui ipsi fuit a confessionibus,* also edited by Berthier in Lippi, *op. cit.*

they were known to every intelligent Italian of the period. There is no attempt at criticism; indeed there would have been slight opportunity for it, since none of these men had access to the necessary documents. Marracci, testifying before the congregation charged with the examination of the deceased pontiff's acts, deposed to Innocent's high regard for the qualities of the Grand Monarch, and his sorrow that the king was misled by evil counsellors. Furthermore he pointed out the fearlessness of the pope in his relations with Louis XIV, but nowhere did he mention the Huguenots.[5]

One of the arguments used against Innocent in the beatification process told of his failure to give adequate approval to the abrogation of the Edict of Nantes. Tomaso Maria Mamachi, who later defended the pope's memory against this accusation, was unable to offer more than the brief and the consistorial allocution in refutation.[6] He makes no reference to the forced conversions.

In the Italian writings of the period the paucity of information on the subject of Innocent's attitude is rather to be expected. Those not closely connected with the pope knew nothing beyond what they surmised from his public utterances and the celebrations. One in a position to speak with authority, as was the confessor, apparently preferred

[5] *Summarium super dubio,* 167.
[6] Mamachi. *Liber singularis,* clix.

to maintain silence regarding Innocent's opposition to the persecution rather than risk augmenting the already active French hostility to the beatification. It is not in the works of the Italian publicists, but rather in those of the French and Dutch, that the most illuminating suggestions are to be found.

The *Gazette de France,* official bulletin of the government, had nothing to say regarding Innocent's opinion of the Huguenot persecution, but the Parisian pamphleteers were by no means silent. The most important of these independents who referred to the pope was Eustache Le Noble, the composer of a series of dialogues appearing singly and anonymously, under separate covers, and each naming a fictitious place of publication.[7] Le Noble (1643-1731), one-time procurator general of Metz, had been banished from the realm as a notorious embezzler. Later he was permitted to return by a benevolent monarch, grateful for numerous pamphlets extolling his virtues and praising his policies. Le Noble, having no desire to resume his wanderings, continued to express views which he knew would be agreeable to the court. It is not likely that the government was unaware of the

[7] The collection, bound in three volumes and entitled *La pierre de touche politique,* is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Its authorship is verified by Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes,* III, 894; Bourgeois and André, *Les sources de l'histoire de France, XVII e siècle,* IV, No. 1956; and the *Catalogue de l'histoire de France,* IV, 351.

authorship of these dialogues, but their anonymity protected it from any possible accusation of countenancing their publication. Two of them deal with Innocent XI and each refers either directly or indirectly to his sympathy for the Huguenots.

The first, *Le Cibisme,* purports to be a discussion between Pasquin and Marforio in 1688 on matters of contemporary interest.[8] Marforio had stated that the faithful were greatly astonished to note that Innocent repaid Louis XIV with "pernicious hate" for the trouble the latter had taken in the suppression of heresy. Pasquin replied: "Odescalchi, if not truly a heretic, is at least an abettor of heresy for opposing, with the enemies of the Faith, the reëstablishment of Catholicism in England and the complete extirpation of heresy in France." To which Marforio added, since canon law considers heretics and their abettors the same, and as the pope is deposed *ipso jure* the moment he lapses from orthodoxy: "Odescalchi was unpoped as notorious abettor and accomplice of the prince of Orange against the interests of the church."[9]

La chambre des comptes d'Innocent XI is the other brochure by Le Noble. Published shortly after the pontiff's death, it appears to be a conversation between St. Peter and the pope at the gates

[8] The title, it will be noted, is derived from the French form of the name of the papal secretary of state, cardinal Cybo.

[9] (Le Noble), *Le Cibisme,* 23.

of paradise. The apostle scathingly denounces Innocent for his treatment of the Eldest Son of the church, blames him for all the wars during his pontificate, and accuses him of being the guiding spirit of the league of Augsburg. The pope's hatred for France is attributed to his Spanish birth and his grudge against the king for preventing his election in the conclave of 1670. Throughout the discourse Innocent is depicted as a friend of the Protestants. St. Peter bade the pope admit that any pleasure which he might have obtained from the extermination of heresy in France was due, not to his gratification because the church had benefited, but to a desire to see Louis XIV kept so busy at home that he would be unable to interfere in the pope's projects. To this Innocent replied: "You speak the truth. I was all the more elated since this act gave me some hope that when I precipitated on this monarch the great war which I had prepared on the outside, some internal disorder would contribute to its success."[10] The pamphlet closes with a satirical Latin epitaph on the deceased pontiff which runs as follows: "Stop, traveller, and give heed. Here rests Innocent XI, formerly Odescalchi, not the shepherd but the disturber of the Christian flock. Monster, insatiable of human blood, torch and fan of deadly war,

[10] (Le Noble), *Chambre des comptes*, 27.

father who aided heretics and audaciously hurled the sacred bolt on sacred things. Enemy alike of Turks and French whom he treated with no distinction; of the former a powerful foe, but of the latter a feeble one. He animated the emperor, the Pole, and the Venetian successfully and gloriously against the Turks. When he could not arouse Heaven he stirred up Hell by forming the infamous league of Augsburg. The betrayer of religion, he was shackled to heretics against the Most Christian Eldest Son of the church. He allowed an impious tyrant, prop and pillar of heresy, to be placed on the English throne when a Catholic king had been driven out, and aided him when he had been placed thereon. When all the world had been pacified, Christ came; when all the world was disturbed, Antichrist departed. Do thou, too, oh traveller, depart and pray for peace for the enemy of peace."

Still another booklet, *Entretien d'Innocent XI et de Jacques II dans les Champs Elizées,* on much the same order as those cited above, was published a little later. It is likewise anonymous and undated, but was probably written after 1701, the year in which the ill-fated Stuart died. Its form would suggest that Le Noble wrote it, but the authorship has not been substantiated and it is quite possible that someone else imitated his style. In

this work the English king, meeting the pope in the Elysian fields, proceeds to berate him for opposing the Grand Monarch. After summarizing the occasions on which His Holiness had irritated Louis, James accuses Innocent of joining the enemies of the French crown for the sole purpose of striking His Most Christian Majesty down, at the very time when he was employing all his resources to regain the Huguenots for the church. Innocent admits all the charges!

The purpose of such writings is manifest. The court of Versailles was anxious to discredit the pope in the eyes of France. On 22 February 1689 cardinal d'Estrées reported the pope's complaint that scanty respect was shown him in France, where, Innocent asserted, it was said he was the worst pontiff since St. Peter. Furthermore, concludes d'Estrées, the pope resented the king's failure to check these insults. One memoirist informs us that Innocent was derisively called the "Huguenot pope."[11]

On 17 March Louis replied with the suggestion that the Holy Father need only change his attitude toward the French crown to be held in higher regard by its subjects. "It is impossible," continued the monarch, "to prevent the people from showing their opinion of a pope who appears so

[11] Dohna, *Mémoires*, 78.

insensible to the dangers which threaten the Catholic religion in Germany and England; to the misfortunes of a king who suffers only because of the zeal he has shown for its reëstablishment in his realm. In short, when the pope treats my kingdom and religion properly, he need not doubt that my subjects will speak well of him." By his own words Louis explained clearly the reason for the attack on Innocent XI. Inasmuch as the insidious campaign had a definite end in view and the writers were not particularly concerned about the truthfulness of their statements, one should not expect to find an accurate presentation of Innocent's attitude in their works. Yet it is noteworthy that the pontiff was charged with sympathy for the Huguenots.

By far the most interesting and extensive writings of the period, which deal with the revocation, were the works of the Huguenot refugees and their partisans. Their sufferings made them bitter in their attack on Louis XIV; it is not surprising that he attempted to silence them. On 4 March 1686 the nuncio at Paris informed the Vatican that the French ambassador at the Hague had been instructed to complain to the States General for permitting such publications, and to remind that assemblage of the consequences a few years earlier when the king had been irritated by the Dutch!

But the protest was of little avail, for the number of pamphlets increased rather than diminished. Because of the volume of this material it is necessary to segregate it under several classifications. First will be presented the sole article reproaching the pope for his conduct; then will follow those approving the papal attitude toward the Huguenots; and last, those dealing extensively with the revocation but not mentioning the pontiff.

But one unknown contemporary Huguenot accused Innocent of condoning the forced conversions. His brochure, *L'impiété des communions forcées,* attacked the dragonnades and expressed astonishment that the pope, so strict about the franchises, which were of no religious importance, should, at the same time, "approve with *Te Deum* and public rejoicings" the sacrileges committed in France. This attitude may be easily explained. The author failed to perceive the difference between the revocation itself and subsequent royal measures taken to enforce it. Aware of the pope's elation over the former, he took it for granted that Innocent harbored similar sentiments toward the latter. The misapprehension expressed in this seventeenth-century anonymous pamphlet has been frequently repeated by historians during the past two hundred years.

Where one Huguenot charged Innocent with supporting the action of the Grand Monarch, many defended the pope against the allegation. The first among these unexpected apologists was none other than Jean Claude, one-time eloquent preacher of the temple of Charenton, the most important Protestant church in France before its destruction in 1685. Claude fled to Holland at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and while there was commissioned by the prince of Orange to write an account of the persecution. *Les plaintes des protestans, cruellement opprimez dans le royaume de France* appeared in 1688. The book attained immediate popularity and was translated into English in 1707. Claude says: "Whatever antipathy there may be between the See of Rome and us, we cannot believe the present pope Innocent XI to have had any hand therein [the abrogation], or that the storm has fallen on us from that quarter. We know him to be a mild prince and his temper disposed toward more moderate counsels than those of his predecessors. Moreover, we know the clergy of France do not always consult him in what they set about, and what has been done by them against Rome, and the little deference paid to its authority has frequently been made an argument to induce us to submit ourselves to the king's will in these other matters. So that we hope

that the pope himself, considering us still as men and as Christians, will pity us and blame the methods that have been used against us, had he no other reason than the mere interest of his own religion."[12] Claude concludes: "Perhaps some day we in our turn likewise shall censure what is undertaken against the pope." On reviewing this book Pierre Bayle comments sarcastically: "There is truth in the saying that we should despair of nothing; whoever would have thought that the time would come when the Protestants would compliment the pope publicly?"[13]

Probably the only Huguenot divine of the period as well known as Jean Claude was Pierre Jurieu. Likewise a refugee in Holland, Jurieu also turned his attention to a literary exposition of the sufferings of his co-religionists. As a result of his efforts two works appeared: *Réflexions sur la cruelle persécution* in 1685, and *Lettres pastorales addressées aux fidèles de France* in 1686. In the former, which bitterly attacked those responsible for the French outrages, there appears no allusion to the pope. The second pamphlet, however, more than atones for the omission of the first. Not only is Innocent's conduct described, his very motives

[12] Claude, *Cruel persecutions of the Protestants*, 204; and *Les plaintes des protestans*, 183. In the English version the translator committed an anachronism by inserting the name of Innocent XII after "present pope."

[13] Bayle, *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, VII, 524.

are explained. Jurieu stated that the papacy had ever commended or approved massacres, for this was the policy of the Catholic church; Rome sang the *Te Deum* and thanked God for the persecution in France; in other words, the pope publicly sanctioned Louis' actions. Nevertheless, continued the pastor, it is an established fact that the Vatican detested and ridiculed the conduct of the Most Christian King. Then Jurieu answers the obvious question, why did the pontiff condone in public what he condemned privately? Had the pope censured the violent measures adopted against the Huguenots, he would have passed judgment on the councils, attacked the memory of his predecessors, rendered himself deposable, and caused the whole church to revolt against him. Consequently Innocent's public approbation of the persecution was a sacrifice to his office. Nor was Jurieu content to let the matter rest there, for he added: "The court of Rome discountenances the king's conduct because it is his enemy. The persecution is not meritorious because it is he who carries it out."

Another pamphlet published anonymously in the same year contains opinions so similar as to suggest Jurieu's authorship. In this latter work the thesis is maintained that although occasionally the pope, as an individual, might be an honest man, as pontiff he could do nothing but evil. Innocent

XI is cited as an example; the writer states: "Being an upright man, he unofficially condemned the excesses committed against us, but as pope he approved them."[14]

Jurieu's attempt to account for the inconsistency in the papal attitude is particularly interesting since he is the first to have observed it. His explanation is logical enough and at least one later historian fell into the same error.[15] The failure to distinguish between the act of abrogation, which the pope approved, and the persecution, which he condemned, is Jurieu's chief fault. He likewise misjudged the pontiff's character; else he had been unable to charge him with the duplicity implied in the suggested solution of the paradoxical situation. Possessed of a temperament which could see no good in an adversary, Jurieu is to be pitied rather than blamed. He had suffered as a result of Louis' intolerance and was unable to forget that Innocent XI was the supreme head of the church to which he attributed all his misfortunes.

Another Huguenot writer, less famous and less capable than those already mentioned, was Charles Ancillon, member of an illustrious Protestant family of Metz, which sought refuge in Brandenburg after the revocation. His first two works, *Réflexions politiques,* reprinted as *Histoire de la déca-*

[14] *Exhortation à la vigilance chrêtienne.* Quotations from this work appear in a review by Bayle, *op. cit.,* VII, 835.

[15] Jervis, *The Gallican Church,* II, 72.

dence de la France, and *L'irrévocabilité de l'Edit de Nantes,* both attack the Gallican clergy and other instigators of the abrogating edict, yet neither mentions Innocent XI. It may be argued from the author's silence that he did not believe the pope to be involved in the assault on the Protestants.

The truth of this assumption is borne out by Ancillon's third book, which was published in 1690, *La France interessée à rétablir l'Edit de Nantes.* After pointing out that the Catholic princes of Europe did not sympathize with the persecution in France, he continues: "Had there been need of taking some action for the reunion of the religions, it was for the common father of Christendom, for the pope and not the king of France to act. Innocent XI is lacking neither in zeal nor in intelligence; he would not have refrained from trying, had he believed success possible. The pope himself, not approving the conduct of France against the Huguenots, asks why the king interferes in such matters: Should his rule extend beyond temporal matters? Should he not be satisfied there without usurping that which pertains to ecclesiastics and the priesthood? . . . The pope, who is a very able statesman, does not thank the king for all the conversions in France; he sees clearly that they are not made in his interest nor for the welfare of the Roman church, since at the very time when the Protestants are repressed the pope is deprived

of his power, his infallibility, and his superiority over councils. In fact he is left nothing but his position as bishop of Rome and his primacy among the other bishops who are become his equals."[16]

It is significant that this book appeared five years after the revocation itself, and that Ancillon made no reference to the papal brief of 13 November 1685, nor the celebrations in Rome. Obviously the author was aware of these widely heralded evidences of pontifical approbation. Furthermore he had no reason for upholding Innocent's reputation. Yet whatever may have been his source of information, Ancillon was convinced that Innocent had no liking for the persecution.

Jacques Wellwood, another Protestant publicist of the same decade, expressed similar opinions with greater emphasis. After calling attention to the satisfaction felt by Innocent's predecessors at the murder of Henry III and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, he said that it would have been natural to expect the reigning pope to rejoice over the misfortunes of the Huguenots. Then he proceeds to show that this is not the case and in proof of his assertion relates an incident which is supposed to have occurred at the time of the dispute between Innocent and Louis over the franchises. The cardinals of the French faction, urging the pope to concede, in view of the extirpation of heresy

[16] Ancillon, *La France interessée*, 123.

in the realm, were silenced by the reply of the Holy Father "that if the king, to justify his claims, had only the severities committed on the Protestants, they would do well to hold their tongues and keep their arguments to themselves, since the method adopted by France in compelling Huguenots to enter the church was pleasing neither to God nor men."[17] Wellwood does not cite any authority and it is impossible to authenticate the conversation he reported; nevertheless his conception of the pontiff's opinion stands.

Pierre Bayle reserved judgment on the attitude of the pope. In a book published in 1686, *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis-le-grand,* he denounces the Gallican clergy for their share of responsibility in the dragonnades, but does not involve Innocent XI. Several times during the same year he alluded to the matter in his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres,* but carefully refrained from an expression of his own opinion. In May he reviewed Claude's *Les plaintes des Protestans* and referred to the pastor's belief in the pope's disapproval of the treatment accorded the Huguenots. Bayle stated that some people disagreed with Claude, basing their convictions on the well-known testimonials of pontifical satisfaction, but that others said: "Whoever reads Innocent's heart will see there a condemnation of

[17] Wellwood, *L'histoire du temps,* I, 247.

the dragonnades," and appended queen Christina's famous epistle. In the June *Nouvelles,* Bayle reviewed a Latin monograph containing a copy of the brief of 13 November preceding, and took occasion to refer to its content. However, he did not fail to explain the point of view of those convinced of Innocent's disapproval, pointing out their belief that whereas Innocent XI had praised the conduct of the Grand Monarch, Benedict Odescalchi censured it. Bayle made no attempt to define the pope's opinion.

Again a month later he alluded to the question of the papal attitude, this time reporting the consistorial address of 18 March, and showing how it had been quoted by the pontiff's opponents to silence his champions. Here as before Bayle presents both sides of the case. Not only does he call attention anew to the distinction between the pope and the Holy See, but he suggests that Innocent believed that the Huguenots had been converted without any violence, and that His Holiness had been deceived as to the methods employed, his health not permitting him to read or to examine matters thoroughly.[18]

Another periodical somewhat similar to that of Pierre Bayle, was published in Amsterdam in 1688 and 1689, *Lettres sur les matières du temps.* Its authorship has not been established. In two num-

[18] Bayle, *op. cit.,* VII, 808.

bers, those of 6 April 1688 and 26 July following, reference was made to Innocent and the Huguenots. In the former there is a discussion of the grievances which separated Versailles and Rome with a quotation from Talon's *plaidoyer* before the Parlement of Paris, wherein the advocate general accused the pontiff of being displeased with the actions of the French crown even in matters advantageous to the welfare of religion. The editor construed this charge to mean that Innocent had no sympathy with the forced conversions which, he adds: "apparently would not have been pleasing to the pope if he is what he had been depicted to us."[19] The article in the second number speaks of the pastoral letter of cardinal Le Camus on the subject of the newly converted, and of the papal brief approving it. That these two pronouncements indicate the attitude of Innocent and Le Camus is shown, and the conclusion reached that a Protestant could not wish for more praiseworthy sentiments, expressed so publicly by a pope and a cardinal, both highly esteemed.

The argument from silence to vindicate Innocent of any connection with the persecution has already been invoked. There are two other instances where it is applicable. François Gaultier

[19] In Limiers, *Histoire du règne de Louis XIV,* IV, 226, the same argument appears in identical words. It is possible that Limiers was the author of *Lettres sur les matières du temps,* but since his *Histoire* appeared twenty-eight years later it seems more likely that he plagiarized from the earlier work.

de Saint-Blancard and Elie Benoist published voluminous histories of French Calvinism in 1687-1688 and 1693-1695 respectively.[20] Both were bitter in attacking the enemies of their faith, neither mentioned Innocent XI. Had they suspected the pope of active or passive participation in the misfortunes which overwhelmed their co-religionists, they might be expected to have expressed themselves on the subject.

There remain two Huguenot works worthy of mention. Both are anonymous satires. *Les héros de la Ligue, ou la procession monacale conduitte par Louis XIV, pour la conversion des Protestans de son royaume,* is a collection of caricatures and accompanying verses attacking the principal enemies of the French Protestants. Twenty-four are singled out for special mention, among them madame de Maintenon, Louvois, Le Tellier, de la Chaise, Bossuet, and the archbishops of Paris and Reims. Moreover the author went outside the realm in adding James II, Father Peters and cardinal von Fürstemberg. The omission of Innocent XI is all the more noteworthy in view of the inclusion of the three preceding individuals. What would have been more natural than to enroll His Holiness in *Les héros?* The failure to do so suggests that

[20] Gaultier de Saint-Blancard, *Histoire apologétique,* 3 vols.; Benoist, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes,* 5 vols.

the unknown author did not consider the pope favorably disposed toward the forced conversions.

L'alcoran de Louis XIV purports to be a *post mortem* conversation between cardinal Mazarin and Innocent XI.[21] The cardinal defends the acts of his royal pupil and takes the pope to task for opposing the Grand Monarch. Innocent explains his attitude and has much the better of the argument. In the course of the dialogue the pope thrice condemns the Huguenot persecution in no uncertain terms. Innocent censures the method and deplores the result. These words are placed in the pope's mouth: " . . . whilst *il figlio vostro sempre perfido & sempre calcitroso,* attacked thus the Holy See, and persecuted me with the utmost Violence, witness the Tears that I have a thousand and a thousand times shed in the Bosom of the Church; on the other hand, he to reconcile himself with this Holy Mother, or rather to deceive all faithful *Christians,* and illude all *Christendom,* he made, I say, the Religions of his Kingdom to suffer the

[21] On the title page is the statement that the book is translated from the Italian and published in Rome. Both assertions are false. It was undoubtedly of French origin and probably was printed in Holland. Bourgeois and André, *op. cit.,* IV, No. 3043, attribute the work to Courtilz de Sandras. A 1696 reprint was entitled *Le triomphe de la ligue ou la France à la veille de souscrire à la paix.* In 1707 an excellent English translation was published without any reference to the French original. On reading the title page of the latter one at once sees the publisher's purpose: *The Alcoran of Lewis XIV or the Political Testament of Cardinal Julius Mazarine. From the Italian Copy printed at Rome. Translated into English for the opening the Eyes of those that are fond of a Popish Prince and a French Government.*

most wicked and barbarous of Cruelties; a Conduct that will make future Generations be ashamed of all Princes that shall bear the Name of *most Christian,* and of the Eldest Son of the Church. I shall not expatiate in giving you a detail of all the Miseries that attended the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. . . . I will only add here, that I never approved of what the *most Christian* King loudly sounded out. . . . What agreement is there between the Apostles, who preach'd the Gospel, and converted People by Mildness and Humanity; and Dragoons, who, holding a Flambeaux in one Hand, and a drawn Sword in the other, have been the Ministers of this detestable Mission? O the horrid Blasphemies! the villainous Sacriledges they have been guilty of! I tremble at the very thoughts of 'em. And yet the Eldest Son of the Church, soliciting me by his Ambassadors to be willing to subscribe to all these Cruelties, because I refused him, has treated me as a Man that is Partial, as a Molinist, a Schismatick, a Jansenist, a Huguenot, and what not."[22]

In another place Innocent replies to Mazarin's statement that he should have applauded and concurred in the "Extirpation of such a Damnable Sect": "God forbid that I should have had any Such Sentiments; Since those Ways of labouring for the Salvation of Souls, and Conversion of *Here-*

[22] *The Alcoran,* 76; *L'alcoran,* 114.

ticks, are so diametrically opposite to the Spirit of *Christianity* and the Gospel, as Experience has sufficiently shewn, that *Lewis* the *Great,* instead of purging his Kingdom of the Huguenot-Heresy, has filled it with a Thousand new Hereticks, Atheists, Epicureans, Blasphemers, etc., which at this Day defile the Church with their Sacriledges; So that France was just upon the point of being torn to pieces by a Thousand new factious Sects, different from those that seem'd to be raised on the Ruins of *Calvinism,* and to spring up from the Ashes of a Religion not so much to be found fault with. Thus, had it not been better for the Peace of the Church to have let that one Monster live, than to struggle with it, and to make a Thousand others come out of it, infinitely more to be dreaded?"[23]

It will be observed from the foregoing passages that contemporary Protestant publicists were almost unanimous in the opinion, not only that Innocent XI was free from any connection with the religious reign of terror authorized by Louis XIV, but that he actually condemned it. How this conclusion was reached, it is impossible to say. On the surface, the evidence was opposed to their judgment. The pope had formally congratulated the king by brief and in consistory. Later historians were prone to accept these official statements as the complete expression of his point of view on the

[23] *The Alcoran,* 50; *L'alcoran,* 77.

matter. Yet Innocent's contemporaries, those embittered by proximity to the persecution, those in whom unreasoning bias is most to be expected, were right where their successors were in error. Except for the references to queen Christina's letters and the pastoral of cardinal Le Camus, the seventeenth century writers do not allude to the source of their information. That they had been able to reach a solution so near the truth by mere guesswork is unlikely. The high regard in which the pope was held by the Protestants of his time may have influenced their decision.

There are many testimonials of this esteem for Innocent by non-Catholics. One of the manuscript lives, to which reference has been made above, states that he was the first pope whose election was applauded by all, even those enemies of the church —the Lutherans and Calvinists.[24] Monsignore Visconti wrote from Cologne on 2 May 1688 that the Hanoverian envoy had spoken to him of the singular respect which Protestants had for the person and exemplary virtues of His Holiness. A French ecclesiastic in the spring of 1689 complained to an Italian friend of the praises which the heretics bestowed on the pope and considered his reputation blackened thereby.[25]

[24] *Saggio istorico,* (MS. Odescalchi).

[25] Michel Germain in a letter to Magliabechi dated 13 March 1689, Mabillon, *Correspondance inédite,* II, 181.

In the beatification process no less than six of the witnesses attested the admiration of the non-Catholics for the pontiff. Lodovico Marracci said that some Protestants visiting Rome had told him of the esteem in which Innocent XI was held in their nations. He also stated that several of them had been received in audience.[26] According to Giovanni Battista Massi it was commonly said in Rome that the heretics freely maintained, had Innocent's successor been adorned with his virtues and saintliness, they would have been obliged to return to the Roman church. "And," concluded Massi, "many times in the pontifical chapel and throughout Rome, when the pope passed, I have seen Protestants spontaneously kneel out of veneration for him, without being forced by the Swiss guard as is usual." Bartolomeo Comandi, pastor of the parish which includes the Palazzo Odescalchi, made a similar deposition. Carlo Felice, procurator general of the Carmelites, reported a conversation with cardinal Bonvisi, former nuncio at Vienna, in which the latter spoke of the genuine regrets expressed to him by the envoys of Protestant princes on the occasion of Innocent's death. Giuseppe Tiberio di Quadris, one of the papal chamberlains, pointed out that Protestants had esteemed the pope during his life and praised him

[26] The testimony of each of the witnesses is contained in the *Summarium super dubio.*

after his death, that his fame had not only endured undiminished but had notably augmented. The superior general of the Jesuits, Thyrsus Gonzales, testified to the same opinion. Alessandro Rusca, another papal official, told of having obtained an audience for four French cavaliers, one of whom was a Huguenot. The Holy Father knighted the three Catholics and bestowed indulgenced medals upon them. To the Protestant he gave a gold medal bearing his likeness, and expressed the wish that later he might be able to accord him the same favors as the others.

It is apparent from the writings of the Huguenots and the testimony of well informed Romans that Innocent XI was widely admired outside his own communion. This fact is of no little importance. Had it been believed that the pope approved the treatment of the French Protestants, would their co-religionists in other countries have shown him this esteem? Irrespective of his virtues it would have been unnatural for them to admire one who endorsed an especially drastic persecution of members of their own faith. The widespread popularity which the pontiff enjoyed among non-Catholics strongly indicates their conviction of his dissociation from Louis' crusade.

Not only was the pope vindicated by Protestants; at least three Catholic publicists arose to explain and defend his policy. The first work, *Ré-*

flexions sur le plaidoyé de M. Talon, is attributed to Dom Gabriel Gerberon, a Benedictine monk who had fled from France because of opposition to his Jansenist opinions. Published in 1688, it answered the attack on Innocent XI by the advocate general before the Parlement of Paris. In reply to the charge that the pope was oblivious to the conversion of the Huguenots the author argued that Innocent disapproved the methods adopted. The whole church would have been eager, Gerberon contended, to applaud such a glorious action under different circumstances. "But the pope, the church and her wisest ministers know that an augmentation of numbers is not necessarily an increase in happiness. . . . They have too much judgment to be overjoyed at an apparent conversion of nearly two million souls, who for the most part have reentered the bosom of the church only to soil it by an infinite number of sacrileges and to profane what is most holy by professing Roman Catholicism without changing their sentiments, and by approaching the sacraments with unconverted heretical hearts."[27]

Les véritables intérêts des princes de l'Europe appeared anonymously in 1689. Conceit and desire for fame rather than zeal for religion are announced as the motives of the Grand Monarch for

[27] (Gerberon), *Réflexions sur le plaidoyé de M. Talon,* 13.

persecuting the Calvinists. The Holy Father had clearly seen this, continues the argument, and consequently was unable to second an action which he knew must fail, since it had not been undertaken properly.

Of greater interest is *Les soupirs de la France esclave qui aspire après la liberté,* a collection of fifteen memoirs printed separately in 1689 and 1690, without any indication as to authorship or place of publication. Attributed to Michel Le Vassor, it is at least certain that the writer was ultramontane in his sympathies. His method of attack was somewhat similar to that of Gerberon. He discusses the sacrilege involved in forced communions and condemns them in superlative terms. "Is this an affair within the jurisdiction of the temporal ruler? Should not the pope be consulted on the manner of converting the Calvinists? Should it not be learned from him whether it be permitted by the canons to compel heretics to assist at the celebration of the mass? Should it not likewise be learned from him if it be proper to force communion on unbelievers? Instead, the king by his own authority, and on consulting only his confessor and several court bishops, decides the most delicate matters of conscience and obliges the whole Gallican church to submit to his decisions. If that is not oppressing the church, I don't know what is. Yet because the Vatican does not resound with *Alle-*

luias, and since the pope is indifferent to conversions made without his authority and contrary to the laws of the church, he is criticised."[28]

What the contemporaries of Innocent XI thought with regard to his attitude toward the Huguenots is quite clear. The Italians, who for the most part were not interested, said nothing. Parisian pamphleteers, subsidized by the court, depicted the pontiff as a heretic, or almost one, for his failure to comply with the demands of the crown. The Protestants expressed a high regard for his character and considered him opposed to the treatment accorded them; while those French Catholics who were out of sympathy with their king justified the pope's condemnation of the persecution. Whatever may have been the differences of opinion as to the equity of the papal position, or the motives which supported it, there is striking uniformity as to the fact itself. Almost without exception the writers of Innocent's generation were convinced that he deplored the forced conversions. What those of the next two hundred years thought and wrote remains to be seen.

[28] (Le Vassor), *Les soupirs de la France esclave,* 9.

CHAPTER VII

INNOCENT'S ATTITUDE AS SEEN BY POSTERITY

It has been shown that in general the contemporaries of Innocent XI agreed in not associating the Holy See with the revocation and its consequences. This, however, is not true of subsequent writers. Although a number of the latter accord entirely with their predecessors, many differ from them. In attempting to account for this disagreement and to rectify several erroneous opinions which have appeared, it seems advisable to consider together those works which express somewhat similar views. The authors who claim that Innocent was hostile to Louis' policy will be first examined, and later those who hold the opposite opinion.

In his celebrated memoirs Saint-Simon stated that the assault on the Huguenots drew no approbation from the pope, who attributed it entirely to motives of policy.[1] Likewise abbé Guetée, not satisfied to say that His Holiness had not been consulted, added that there had been no rejoicing at Rome.[2] Still another church historian asserted Innocent's refusal to assist in the measures taken to

[1] Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, XXVIII, 231.
[2] Guetée, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, XI, 106.

abrogate the edict.[3] Each of these statements is either untrue or misleading. The pontiff did approve the revocation. Public celebrations, authorized and conducted by the Vatican, were held in Rome. And the pope, uninformed of the intention of the crown to rescind the ordinance of 1598, obviously could not refuse to participate in the act. Evidently each of these writers realized that Innocent had objected to something related to the Grand Monarch's attack on the Huguenots. But they failed to distinguish between the prohibition of public Protestant worship and the persecution of non-Catholics for refusing to become Catholics. With the former the pontiff was in complete accord; it was the latter to which he raised strenuous objections.

Another view was that the pope did not applaud the measures directed against the heretics. Those who take this position are unwilling to go so far as to claim Innocent as an avowed opponent of the persecution, being content to say that he had no taste for the violence,[4] or that he guarded a discreet reserve on the matter.[5] Lavisse shared this last opinion.[6] The obvious defect in this contention is its indefiniteness. Apparently its exponents knew the pope's character well enough to appreci-

[3] Mourret, *Histoire générale,* VI, 255.
[4] Mézeray, *Abrégé chronologique,* IV, 466.
[5] Guiraud, *Histoire partiale, histoire vraie,* III, 89.
[6] Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* VIII, 1:294.

ate that he could not sponsor Louis' plans, but not having evidence to establish his position they assumed an attitude as non-committal as possible.

Sismondi was more outspoken. He depicted the pope as regarding the forced conversions as sacrilegious, but did not substantiate his assertion.[7] It remained for Ranke to show that Innocent was not involved in the royal scheme and actually censured it.[8] The great German historian based his conclusions on the report of the Venetian ambassador, which he was the first to quote. Macaulay accepted Ranke's opinion.[9] The editor of Innocent's letters to his nephew, senatore Antonio Maria Erba, prefaces his collection with a brief but critical biographical sketch. In this he emphatically declares the pope's disapproval, quoting Girolamo Venier, and adds that His Holiness made an effort to mitigate the ferocious persecution.[10] No suggestion is given as to the nature of this attempt. Darras, the church historian, is altogether too eager to exculpate the pontiff when he asserts that Innocent "openly disapproved of the violence exercised against the Calvinists."[11] While the pope's opposition to forced conversions has been made clear in a preceding chapter, there is no evidence on which

[7] Sismondi, *Histoire des Français,* XXV, 558.
[8] Ranke, *History of the popes,* II, 421.
[9] Macaulay, *History of England,* II, 16.
[10] Colombo, *Notizie biografiche e lettere,* 19.
[11] Darras, *General history of the Catholic Church,* II, 375.

to base the statement that he "openly" expressed his disapproval.

Innocent knew the Most Christian King much too well to have harbored the delusion that Louis would accept unsolicited advice. Furthermore the relations between the Holy See and Versailles were already sufficiently strained; had the pope sympathized openly with subjects considered by their sovereign as rebels, he would only have made matters worse. While such an action on the part of the pontiff could be of no conceivable assistance to the Huguenots, it would have played into the hands of those anxious to widen the breach separating France from Rome. If Innocent made an attempt to alleviate the persecution, it was done in a manner so secret and roundabout that no trace of it has yet been discovered. The correspondence of the officially accredited diplomats of the Vatican contains no reference to any such proceedings.

The foregoing group of writers is guilty of an offence of omission rather than of commission. They allude to the papal opposition to the use of force in the propagation of the faith and make no reference whatsoever to his attitude regarding the Edict of Nantes. Generally speaking, one associates the revocation with its consequences. Thus their exposition of the case implies Innocent's condemnation of the whole of Louis' Huguenot policy. This position is obviously untenable. The other

extreme was to magnify the pontiff's pleasure at the abrogation and ignore his condemnation of the use of force.

The historians who make this mistake, and the number is quite large, do not fail to refer to the papal brief of 13 November 1685, and the consistorial allocution delivered in March following.[12] There can be no disputing the attitude expressed on these two occasions and both were official pronouncements. Yet to cite these statements and to maintain silence on the reaction of the pope to the persecution is to do the memory of Innocent XI the greatest injustice. The inference which is derived from such a presentation of the facts is that the pope concurred in all of the Grand Monarch's program against his Protestant subjects. For the most part these writers are in good faith, but from an insufficiency of information have reached conclusions which are inaccurate. Such was not the case with all who advanced this thesis.

Pierre Daunou, a typical early nineteenth-century anti-clerical, thus expressed his views on the subject: "The censures directed against Lavardin

[12] Aubineau, *De la révocation*, 65; Baird, *The Huguenots*, II, 63; Bourgeois, *La révocation*, 5; Douen, *La révocation*, I, 55; Guarnacci, *Vitae Pontificum*, I, 113; Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, VI, 301; Martin, *Histoire de France*, XIV, 55; Moroni, *Dizionario*, XXXVI, 28; Noailles, *Mme. de Maintenon*, II, 447; Novaes, *Elementi della storia*, XI, 47; Piatti, *Storia critico-cronologica*, XII, 223; Platina, *Le vite de'Pontefici*, 821; Puaux, *Etudes sur la révocation*, 28 note 2; Rosset, *Mme. de Maintenon*, 69; Weiss, *Histoire des réfugiés*, I, 121.

irritated Louis XIV, and Avignon was occupied once more. These altercations would have led to an open rupture, had it not been for the rigorous measures applied to the Protestants after 1685. In this delicate conjuncture the proscription of the Calvinists reconciled the French court and the Holy See."[13] Daunou's assertion is absolutely false. Not only was there effected no *rapprochement* between Louis and Innocent after 1685; their relations became continually worse.

Among all those who have mentioned the attitude of the pope toward the rescinding decree and its consequences, but one, Charles Bellet, adequately comprehended Innocent's position.[14] He saw it to be similar to that of cardinal Le Camus, whose stand he fully appreciated and succinctly delineated. Charles Gérin, who published numerous articles relating to the Assembly of 1682 and various phases of the policy of Innocent XI, wrote an essay entitled *Innocent XI et la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes.* It is based almost entirely on the documents of the French Foreign Office, and the conclusion is reached that the papal conduct in the matter "was worthy of the head of the church."[15] By this Gérin meant that His Holiness approved Louis' actions until he had been convinced of the

[13] Daunou, *Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes,* 307.

[14] Bellet, *Histoire du cardinal Le Camus,* 377.

[15] *Revue des Questions Historiques,* XXIV, 377-441.

use of force, whereafter he maintained silence. Several other writers, although less clearly aware of the actual state of affairs than Bellet and Gérin, pointed out that the Holy See was very formal and restrained in its congratulations to the Eldest Son of the church.[16]

Two early Catholic biographers of Innocent XI, eager to credit him with responsibility for all the events occurring during his pontificate which they considered praiseworthy, declared him to be the instigator of the revocation.[17] They offer no proof for the assertion and it cannot be taken seriously. But the charges of Emile Michaud in his four volume work, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI,* may not be dismissed as lightly. Michaud, like Gérin, depended on the despatches of the French ambassadors at Rome, but there the similarity between these two historians ceased. A disciple of Döllinger, Michaud was bitterly anti-papal. His animus was such that almost every statement he makes is tinged with it. He saw Innocent as the inspiration for the attack on the Huguenots, and proves to his own satisfaction that the pope detested the Protestants and sanctioned the revocation.

In support of his claim that the pope was responsible for the royal policy, Michaud quotes a

[16] Broglie, *Questions de religion et d'histoire,* II, 92; Jager, *Histoire de l'Eglise,* XVII, 331; Mackinnon, *The growth and decline of the French Monarchy,* 417.

[17] Bonamici, *De vita et rebus gestis,* 72; Eggs, *Pontificium doctum,* 915.

letter of the duc d'Estrées of 10 July 1680 in which it was stated the pontiff had praised His Most Christian Majesty for abrogating the Edict of Nantes.[18] In this report the author saw evidence of the confirmation of the king's act five years before its consummation. There are several matters which must be considered before one can accept this conclusion. In the first place, no one, excepting d'Estrées, referred to the audience in question. The correspondence of the nuncio and the secretary of state makes no allusion to the revocation in 1680. Furthermore, when Louis called to the attention of his ambassador the fact that the edict of 1598 was still in effect, the latter replied vaguely that the pope had been misinformed.[19] In all probability the duke himself was responsible for this error. The privileges of the Huguenots had been curtailed recently and d'Estrées had discussed the situation with the Holy Father. In reporting the interview, he might unwittingly have referred to the modification of the edict as its abrogation. In any case there is nothing which substantiates the ambassador's assertion that the pope praised the rescinding of the ordinance in 1680. Michaud's contention that this despatch proves the repeal of religious toleration to have been already prepared cannot be sustained.

[18] Michaud, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI*, IV, 476.
[19] 13 August 1680. *Correspondance de Rome*, 266, f. 158.

Next he attempts to show the hatred of Innocent XI for Protestants. Two incidents are cited in support of this contention. In 1677 the pontiff besought Louis to use his good offices with the governments of England and Sweden to secure a mitigation of the penal laws against Catholics in those realms. "Thus Innocent condemned the legislation of the two Protestant kingdoms regarding Catholics," concluded Michaud. Again two years later cardinal Rospigliosi informed the French ambassador that the Holy Father would grant any favor to the Grand Monarch if he could procure some advantage for the faithful of Sweden and Holland, "which indicates the price the pope attached to a lessening of Protestantism in those two countries." Basing his proof on such arguments as these Michaud built up his thesis that Innocent detested the Huguenots and gloried in the persecution.

After quoting the brief of 13 November 1685 he triumphantly points to the pope's approbation of the establishment of St. Cyr by madame de Maintenon as the culminating bit of evidence incriminating the pope. Had not Louis assured His Holiness of the efficacy of the new seminary in strengthening the faith of the new converts? "If the pope had desired to hinder the royal projects," observes Michaud, "he would have certainly refused his sanction to this institution of religious

propaganda"! This assertion is absurd. It was only natural that the pope should wish to please the Eldest Son of the church whenever he could do so without injury to his conscience or rights. There was no reason for withholding papal sanction from the projected academy and it is impossible to connect it with the ordinance of 1685. Most of Michaud's arguments are as groundless as those quoted. The only conceivable contribution which he can be said to have made to the subject under discussion is a conviction that nothing exists in the archives of the Foreign Office in Paris which would involve Innocent XI in the Huguenot persecution. Surely anyone as badly in need of evidence to support an *a priori* conclusion would have unearthed it.

Henry Baird also makes a statement which cannot be allowed to remain unchallenged. In his *Huguenots and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes* he claims that a medal was struck by the pontifical mint to commemorate the abrogation.[20] He refers to the *Giornale de' litterati per tutto l'anno MDCLXXXVIII* as the first place wherein the medal was mentioned. He does not add that the article to which he alludes states explicitly: "[This medal] of uncertain workmanship, was recently

[20] Baird, *op. cit.*, II, 66. The frontispiece of this volume reproduces the medal in question.

struck at Rome for Louis the Great."[21] Nor does Baird give any evidence to support his bland assumption that the medal originated in the papal mint. On the other hand numerous arguments may be advanced against this opinion. The medal is not listed among those struck by Innocent's command.[22] It does not bear the pope's bust as did all the pontifical medals of the period. The workmanship is of mediocre quality and anonymous, whereas the artists employed by Innocent XI were capable and signed their productions. Furthermore it is inconceivable that such a medal could have been issued by order of the Holy Father without attracting the attention of the French representatives in Rome. It is not mentioned by the d'Estrées brothers although they were not careless about such matters. On 1 January 1686 the cardinal reported the publication in the Eternal City of a poem praising the Grand Monarch, and suggested to Colbert de Croissy that the author be recompensed. He con-

[21] *Giornale de' litterati*, 23. The article appearing in this work cannot be taken seriously. The author deliberately falsifies the inscription on the medal: "LVD. MAGN. FRAN. ET. NAV. REX. PAT. PATR. REST. PIET." to read: "LVDOVIC. MAGNVS. FRAN. ET. NAVAR. REX. PAT. PAT. RESTIT. PIETATIS." And he does this in order to make it possible for him to say: "That this royal edict appeared in the year 1684, the numeral letters by which the heroic name is formed tell us sufficiently." It will be observed that by collecting all the letters signifying numbers, MDCLXVVVVIIII is obtained. Had this numerologically-minded scribe realized that the edict was repealed in 1685, instead of 1684, no doubt he would have completed *patriae* for the additional year.

[22] Venuti, *Numismata Romanorum Pontificum*, contains a complete list of the medals of Innocent XI.

sidered that such an action would produce a result beneficial to His Most Christian Majesty "in a court where men, attracted by other interests, did not often apply themselves to such things." How much more desirous would he not have been to reward the designer of a medal glorifying his sovereign!

This silence on the part of the Palazzo Farnese indicates not only that the pontifical mint was not responsible, but likewise that the medal in all probability did not originate in Rome. The most conclusive evidence of independent authorship is the opinion of commendatore Camillo Serafini, the present pontifical numismatist, who assured the writer that the medal is not an official papal medal. He considers it to have been made by some artist fulfilling a private commission. The paucity of reproductions is further argument in this direction.[23] Moreover no reference is made to it in any of the standard works on numismatics.

It will be seen from the preceding paragraphs that historians have differed widely in their conceptions of the papal opinion with regard to the revocation. In most cases these variations have been due to a failure to distinguish between the abrogation itself and the persecution which fol-

[23] The writer knows of the existence of only two, one in the private collection of the Vatican, and the other in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello) at Florence. This latter is to be found in the Sala delle medaglie, case IV, No. III, 130.

lowed. This in turn is attributable to the fact that they had access to but little of the source material. The purpose of this dissertation has been to clarify this question through a study of the available documents. The last chapter will summarize the conclusions which have been reached.

CHAPTER VIII

INNOCENT XI AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

After considering the several points of view, after analyzing all the available documents, despatches, reports, memoirs, and miscellaneous writings relating to the subject, it is possible to present with some degree of certainty the attitude of Innocent XI towards the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its consequences.

As supreme head of the Roman Catholic church, Innocent had no love for heresy. He considered it a threat to the tranquility of Christendom, an infectious disease which should be checked, and if possible obliterated. Yet he was intelligent enough to realize that persecution was an ineffective weapon against it. He perceived that the use of force tended to strengthen rather than weaken the religious fervor of dissenting minorities. Moreover the pope was a kindly old man, generous, compassionate, and charitable; the very thought of cruelty and human suffering was repellant to him.

Seventeenth-century Europe still professed belief in the Christian state. Naturally the pontiff subscribed to this opinion. According to it the

secular authority was responsible to God for the faith of its subjects. Thus the duty devolved upon the state of protecting orthodoxy and preventing heresy. Temporarily at least, the Protestant revolt had served to emphasize this doctrine, for through the general acceptance of the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio,* Catholic and Protestant states alike undertook to enforce internal religious uniformity.

The least the state could do in carrying out the duty imposed upon it was to deny political rights to those refusing to conform to its established religion. To a certain extent France had ceased to do this after 1598. The Holy See, like the Gallican church, viewed the Edict of Nantes as an abandonment on the part of France of her obligations as a Christian state. In other words, official recognition of the Huguenots as French subjects having equal rights with their Catholic compatriots and permitted to worship publicly in their own way, was interpreted as encouraging Protestantism.

To the church there was no *via media* for the state; it was either with her or against her. Consequently all the ecclesiastical influence which could be summoned opposed the religious settlement of Henry IV from the beginning and continually thereafter. Thus it was that Innocent XI, a creature of the age in which he lived, was also

ranged against the edict and what it represented. For this reason he was gratified to learn of its increasingly narrowing interpretation by the crown, and its eventual abrogation.

Although the pope anxiously awaited the revocation, he had nothing to do with it. Louis XIV wanted all the glory for an act which he thought would for all times be regarded as one of the greatest achievements of his reign. The pontiff was not informed of the royal intention in advance, nor did he learn of the plan until its consummation. Nevertheless the attitude of the Holy See was so well known at the court of Versailles that it was considered likely some concessions would be made to the Grand Monarch in gratitude for his benefit to the church. Had not the pope commended Louis several times for his Most Christian zeal? Was not this more magnificent than any of his previous deeds for religion? Although king and pope were on very bad terms, His Holiness would be obliged to recompense the champion of orthodoxy. Louis expected a solution of the outstanding difficulties which separated him and Rome, the *régale,* the four articles of 1682, and the vacant bishoprics. To him a settlement meant submission on all the disputed matters to his point of view.

Such was out of the question with Innocent XI. Possibly had the king made the revocation depend upon certain concessions from the Vatican, he

would have obtained something. But to abrogate the ordinance without consulting the pope, and then to expect to gain a consideration, was as undiplomatic as it was unproductive of the desired results. Although the pontiff desired the rescinding of the 1598 ordinance earnestly enough to forego something in return, there was no incentive to heed Louis' demands when the latter was no longer in a bargaining position. Yet it cannot be said that the pope's refusal to come to an accord with the French crown indicated his disapproval of the revocation. It was, rather, illustrative of his opposition to the Gallicanism of the king, and of the latter's lack of astuteness on this occasion.

When Innocent first learned of the royal intention to withdraw the Edict of Nantes, it was already a *fait accompli*. The preamble of the ordinance of 18 October 1685 asserted that Protestantism had so nearly disappeared in France as to make its continued recognition unnecessary. For many months past the pope had been informed from time to time of the numerous conversions in the realm of the Eldest Son of the church. Calvinism had been depicted as a ripe fruit which would fall from the tree at the slightest touch. Submissions to Catholicism *en masse,* by tens of thousands, were reported from all parts of France. Since not the slightest suggestion of compulsion was made, it was

assumed they were spontaneous and voluntary — the result of the king's stupendous efforts to convince his heretical subjects of the error of their ways. And the pontiff, on hearing of this latest evidence of the royal zeal, at once sent Louis a brief of commendation.

That the nuncio in Paris had suggested the composition of this congratulatory epistle is of interest but does not affect the situation. There can be no doubt but that Innocent whole-heartedly approved the action of His Most Christian Majesty. Furthermore this is borne out by the consistorial address and public celebrations held in Rome five months later. This delay was due to the illness of the Holy Father and to no other reason. There are no grounds on which the assumption can be maintained that the festivities were postponed because the pope had misgivings about the proceedings in France. The sacred college was informed of the revocation at its first meeting after the news reached Rome, and the rejoicings were deferred until the expiration of Lent on the request of the French ambassador. During this period there is absolutely no evidence to show that Innocent was not well pleased with the policy of Louis XIV. Nor is there any indication of his being aware of the persecution in France.

It is to be recalled that his illness during most of the interval between the revocation and the consistorial allocution prevented his receiving others than the members of his official family. The pope was almost entirely dependent upon his secretary of state for his knowledge of conditions in France. A pensioner of the Grand Monarch, cardinal Cybo had every reason to foster Franco-Roman relations. It is not certain that he was fully aware of the forced conversions although the nuncio's reports were illuminating enough in this regard. It was desirable to the secretary of state that Innocent be kept in ignorance of the disagreeable aspects of the revocation until after the king had been praised in consistory, and the celebrations authorized. These actions would serve more or less to commit the Holy See to Louis' design, which His Most Christian Majesty desired above all at the moment.

Obviously the French representatives in Rome would use their influence to conceal the truth from the pope. Since it is generally maintained that the king himself was unaware of the persecution in his realm, it is not surprising that the pontiff was deluded for several months. A sickly old man, seventy-four years of age, and relying for his facts upon a minister anxious to please Louis XIV, what chance had he to learn the whole truth, at least

until he was able once again to resume his regular duties and receive visitors from all parts of Europe? Under these circumstances what was more natural than that he should sanction the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the numerous conversions, the details of which were so ably presented to him?

When or how the pope first learned of the methods by which the faith was being propagated in France is unknown. Possibly they were attracted to his attention by the retaliatory measures undertaken by the Dutch. Or the truth may have reached him through queen Christina who so violently condemned Louis' policy. The Spanish and Austrian ambassadors certainly had no reason to shield the actions of the French king. In any case, Innocent's silence on the subject after the March consistory might well be interpreted as an indication that he soon had misgivings as to the accuracy of the picture which had been given him. In any event he was outspoken enough on several occasions in 1687 and 1688 to convince the most dubious of his opposition to the forced conversions which he censured as ineffective and sacrilegious.

The question at once suggests itself: "Why did not the pope formally reprove these actions as publicly as he had endorsed the abrogating edict?" Although Innocent does not give us an answer, it is

not difficult to find one. His relations with Louis XIV, never cordial, were increasingly strained after 1685. In the excitement of the dispute over the franchises and the Cologne election it was impossible for the pontiff to foresee to what lengths the king would go. An outspoken denunciation of the policy so dear to the Grand Monarch would undoubtedly have precipitated a crisis in Franco-Roman affairs. It is even conceivable that the Gallican church might have declared the pope a heretic; his orthodoxy had already been challenged not only by the pamphleteers but by the advocate general of the Parlement of Paris, and Talon was known to speak the mind of the court. Such an action would have led to an open rupture and possibly the creation of an independent church of France.

What the attitude of Innocent XI was toward the revocation of the Edict of Nantes may be summed up in three sentences. Unconsulted in advance, he cannot be held responsible for it. Uninformed of the attendant persecution and accepting the ordinance as it stood, he approved it. The aftermath of forced conversions, he condemned. In this light only are his actions and words, as well as those of his contemporaries, seen to be consistent.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

No attempt has been made to give a complete list of the works bearing on the reign of Louis XIV or the Edict of Nantes. Only the materials heretofore cited or pertaining directly to the subject are listed below.

Since this study is based mainly on unpublished manuscript materials or on printed documents difficult to obtain, it seems advisable to indicate the places in which they are to be found.

In Paris the Archives des Affaires Etrangères contain the correspondence between the Foreign Office of Louis XIV and his official representatives in Rome. In this series the original minutes of the despatches sent to the ambassadors are preserved with the actual letters received from them. The documents are all dated and arranged chronologically. Each volume contains approximately four hundred folio pages.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale are to be found most of the printed works mentioned, particularly those published during the past two centuries. Some of the materials selected for the chapter on contemporary opinion are drawn from other Paris libraries, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque Mazarine and the Bibliothèque de l'histoire

du Protestantisme français. What is undoubtedly the finest collection on the history of the Huguenots is to be found in the library last mentioned. The Bibliothèque de l'Institut Catholique is particularly helpful with regard to matters touching the church in France.

In Rome the Archivio Segreto della Santa Sede (Vatican) contains the correspondence between the papal secretary of state and the apostolic delegations accredited to the various courts of Europe. All the despatches to and from a given nunciature are arranged together. Each volume is between six hundred and seven hundred folio pages in length. The code messages are segregated in separate volumes. Within each tome the contents are placed in chronological order. All the despatches are dated.

The Archivio Generale della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide is the repository of the documents relating to the activities of that important institution, the Congregation of the Propaganda.

In the Archivio Odescalchi, the private collection of the princely family of which Innocent XI was so distinguished a member, is a large assortment of miscellaneous manuscript and printed material concerning the pontiff. The various docu-

ments bearing on the beatification process are there, as also are several manuscript *vite*.

Other biographies of Innocent XI, and works used in the chapter depicting the point of view of his contemporaries, are to be found in the Biblioteca Vallicellana and the Reggia Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina (University of Rome).

The two great libraries of Milan, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (La Brera), contain several of the early accounts of Innocent's life not accessible in Rome. One manuscript which is cited is to be found in London, in the British Museum.

Instead of following the bibliographical method of listing first the primary and then the secondary sources, the writer classifies the materials according to their form and content.

The order of presentation is indicated in this chart:

A. Diplomatic Correspondence
Manuscripts
Printed materials

B. Other Official Documents
Manuscripts
Printed materials

C. Memoirs

D. Private Correspondence
Manuscripts
Printed materials

E. Contemporary Opinion
Manuscripts
Printed materials

F. Biographies of Innocent XI
Manuscripts
Printed materials

G. General Biographies of the Popes

H. Other Biographies

I. General Histories of France

J. Histories of the Reign of Louis XIV

K. Histories of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

L. General Histories of the Church

M. Histories of the Church of France

N. Histories of the Huguenots

O. Miscellaneous Works

A. Diplomatic Correspondence

Manuscripts.

1. *Correspondance de Rome,* (Archives des Affaires Etrangères),
   1680, *Six derniers mois, (le duc d'Estrées)* vol. 266.
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